Enver Hoxha

Two friendly peoples

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, STALIN INSTITUTE
TORONTO, 1985

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OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

ENVER HOXHA

Two friendly peoples

EXCERPTS FROM THE POLITICAL DIARY AND OTHER DOCUMENTS ON ALBANIAN—GREEK RELATIONS

1941 — 1984

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, STALIN INSTITUTE
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ENVER HOXHA

FOREWORD

***«Two friendly peoples»**, a new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha, deals with relations between the Albanian people and the Greek people. He handed over this book for publication at the end of 1984. It includes excerpts from his Political Diary on International Questions (1958-1984) and other speeches and conversations from the period November 1941-December 1984.*

In many articles included in this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had a profound knowledge of the history not only of the Albanian people but also of the Greek people, reveals the true character, the deep and ancient roots, the durability and the ever greater possibilities for the development of the Albanian-Greek friendship. In this context he brings out those common aspects of their material and spiritual culture which impel the Albanian and Greek peoples to sympathy for one another and to develop the friendship between them. He assesses our south-

ern neighbours with great scientific objectivity, speaks about the brilliant Greek philosophy and about that great contribution which the Greek people have made to the treasury of world culture.

These assessments and this respect not only reflect the fact that Comrade Enver Hoxha has had close personal knowledge of the Greek people and has studied their past and present history and culture with enthusiasm, but above all they are closely linked with his figure and brilliant work as an outstanding Marxist-Leninist. Just as he was an ardent patriot, he was also an ardent internationalist. He dedicated his struggle and work not only to the development and flowering of the life of the Albanian people, but also to the cause of collaboration and friendship between all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

From their generous and freedom-loving character and nature, the Albanian people are sincere friends of all the peoples of the world, whether large or small. But a traditional friendship links them with the fraternal Greek people with whom they have been united by «a common fate, a common struggle against the same enemies». In many articles the author points out that throughout their history the Albanian people have supported the just cause and struggle of the Greek people. In the Greek Revolution of 1821, the Albanians with their fighting leaders, who became outstanding figures of this revolu-

tion, fought loyally to the end for the freedom and independence of Greece. This fine tradition continued later, too. In the years of the Second World War, although the Albanian people were under fascist slavery, they turned their rifles against the Italian fascists when they attacked Greece. Precisely at that time, when Albania was engulfed in the flames of the war, Comrade Enver Hoxha, together with his comrades, plastered the walls of Tirana with slogans and leaflets in support of the freedom-loving Greek people against the fascist aggressors.

The socialist state which was established in Albania after the liberation of the country created all the possibilities and conditions for a normal development, in the common interest, of relations with neighbouring Greece. One of the first measures which the people's state power took was the recognition, guaranteed in the Constitution, of all rights for the Greek minority in Albania, the same as for the Albanian people with whom they live in complete brotherhood. In this book the reader will be acquainted with the Marxist-Leninist thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the correct solution of the national question which the imperialists and the revisionists are deliberately confusing today in order to keep the national minorities and nations under their savage chauvinist oppression. It is a significant fact that the existence of the Greek minority in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is an important factor for streng-

thening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people.

By analysing the events at the moment they occurred, in this book Comrade Enver Hoxha gives a detailed outline of the concrete historical circumstances of their development and all those efforts, initiatives and proposals made by the people's government of Albania for the normalization and further development of relations with Greece. «The friendship of the Albanians is valuable to the Greeks, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

This book also informs us about that correct, principled and unwavering stand of the Albanian people and their government towards the aims and actions of Greek chauvinist and monarcho-fascist reactionary circles, incited by foreign powers, to destroy the friendship between our two peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a positive assessment of the stand of Greek realistic and progressive forces that have worked and are working to overcome the artificially created difficulties in the relations between our two countries. In this context, too, he evaluates the objective stand and realistic understanding of Greek government circles in recent years for good neighbourly relations with our country. He points out that collaboration with mutual benefit and good neighbourly relations cannot be realized through the desire and will of only one side.

It is not only the mutual benefits in the economic and cultural field which are important in the Albanian-Greek relations; these relations have great significance and value in the interests of our two peoples in the political field, too. The more peaceful the borders are, the more secure is the peace in the Balkan Peninsula. This is why the friendly atmosphere between the two neighbouring peoples is vital and it also has great importance in order to expose the intrigues and plots of imperialist and social-imperialist powers, which use every means to incite hostility between the peoples of this peninsula. Today when there are hotbeds of tension all around us and the danger exists that they may be increased tomorrow, the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people serves the cause of peace in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and even further afield.

The publication of this book of the dearly loved leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, serves the further strengthening of the sincere Albanian-Greek friendship. This friendship of our two peoples, who live side by side, is also an example for the relations between other Balkan peoples.

THE PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS ARE WAGING AN HEROIC WAR

NOVEMBER 1941

After the founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941, the Central Committee addressed its first appeal to the Albanian people, an appeal written by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in which he speaks about the heroic war of the peoples of the Balkans.

All the enslaved peoples of Europe, including the peoples of the Balkans, are waging an heroic war for their liberation. The Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians and Greeks, whose countries are enslaved by German and Italian fascism, are waging a large-scale war for

their national liberation.(**1**)Through the ceaseless fight of the partisan *çeta* and acts of sabotage, they are not leaving fascism in peace to milk and oppress them, but are destroying its vital centres, are not allowing it to take grain, weapons, munitions and men to use in the war against other peoples.

1 The Resolution of the Founding Meeting of the Party also points out, «We must develop love and fighting cooperation with all the peoples of the Balkans who are fighting heroically for their national liberation.»

IN GREECE THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS ARE BEING SHAKEN

NOVEMBER 1942

In his articles published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», besides writing about the National Liberation War of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha also wrote about the anti-fascist war of the Greek people and other peoples of the Balkans.

The fascist occupiers have realized like two and two makes four that they are in open war with the Albanian people, that their position here is becoming critical, that their munitions dumps are not secure, that their army is in danger, that their position in Greece is being shaken, that the aid which they send the fascist soldiers in Yugoslavia is becoming worthless; in

short, all the peoples of the Balkans oppressed by fascism are becoming a terrible danger for the occupiers. The fascist generals have admitted openly that fascism has to fight on the Balkan front, too.

THE PEOPLE OF DROPULL (1) HAVE FOUGHT LOYALLY

SEPTEMBER 6, 1943

At the 2nd National Liberation Conference which was held in Labinot of Elbasan, on September 4-9, 1943, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report, «On the Stand Towards Various Currents Outside the National Liberation Movement», in which amongst other things, he pointed out:

We shall try to include other currents, too, in the National Liberation Movement. This is how we have acted with the Greek minority, for example. Today they are suffering occupa-

1 Zone in Southern Albania inhabited by the Greek minority.

tion by the same enemy. They have had to fight alongside us, our war is their war, we are fighting the same enemy. The people of Dropull are well aware of this. The people of the Greek minority have proved themselves up to the mark, have fought loyally and have defended the interests of Albania against the Greek reactionary circles.

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE SABOTAGED THE ITALIAN FASCIST AGGRESSION AGAINST GREECE

MARCH 20, 1944

In the theoretical course with main cadres which was organized in the time of the National Liberation War at Panarit of Korça, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report on the theme, «The National Liberation War, Its Prospects and Our Tasks». In his analysis of the international situation, he spoke about the aggression by fascist Italy against Greece and the National Liberation War in this country.

At that time (**1**) fascist Italy was preparing its aggression against Greece. It tried to embroil our people in war over the old chauvinist anta-

1 October 1940.

gonisms and to recruit men into the ranks of the militia. However, our people were not deceived by this demagogy and began to sabotage this war(**2**)...

The Greek National Liberation War, too, is making great progress. There they have the EAM(**3**)andanorganizedarmy,ELAS.(**4**)Thisfront, like those everywhere, is battling enemies, espe-

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2 Speaking about the Albanian people's sabotage of the fascist aggression against Greece, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

«I shall never forget those dark nights of November 1940, when Vasil Shanto and I stuck slogans on the walls with the call 'Down with Italian fascism!' and 'Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom!'

«This was the time when fascist Italy, continuing its annexationist policy, launched the aggression against the fraternal Greek people. We immediately condemned this new aggression, wrote and distributed in Tirana, Korça and elsewhere a series of leaflets in which, besides exposing the fascist policy, we called on our people to sabotage this war in every way possible, and especially, to sabotage the fascists' efforts to send Albanian soldiers to the front as cannon fodder.

«And what was bound to occur took place: not only did the Albanian people react to this new fascist aggression against the Greek people with boundless indignation and anger, but even those few Albanian soldiers who were forced to the front at bayonet point did not fire a single shot against the Greek brothers, but on the contrary, either turned their rifles against the fascist aggressors, or deserted en masse.» (*When the Party Was Born* (Memoirs), «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 198.3, p. 97, 3rd Alb. ed.)

3 The [Greek] National Liberation Front.

4 The [Greek] National Liberation People's Army.

cially the supporters of King George and Zervas. (**5**) Zervas has sabotaged the EAM movement. Now EAM has stopped the war against Zervas and reached an agreement with him to fight the occupier jointly or separately, to stop the war against each other and to exchange prisoners. We are unable to express opinions about the war which is being waged in Greece but only know that we are on the right line. (**6**) Despite this agreement, the war in Greece is assuming greater proportions and resisting German reaction well.

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5 A rabid chauvinist, one of the main heads of Greek reaction during the Second World War and a tool of the British imperialists.

6 See p. 300 of this volume.

FOR THE MOBILIZATION OF THE GREEK MINORITY IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND FOR THE FRATERNIZATION OF THE GREEK AND ALBANIAN PEOPLES

Letter to the Communist Party of Greece

APRIL 2, 1944

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

TO THE BUREAU OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

Dear comrades,

We received your letter of March 12, 1944. In regard to your proposal for an eventual meeting between two delegates of our two parties, we consider this necessary and urgent in order

to discuss various problems which affect us, and especially, the problem of minorities.

As for the delicate question of minorities, we ask the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece to send comrades who are well-acquainted with the question of nationalities to work with us, since it is easy to make mistakes and unwittingly damage the war which is being waged against the Germans and their lackeys. To this end, we desire that you explain thoroughly to the Greek comrades who will come to our country that they must work zealously and familiarize themselves with the directives of our Party, as well as with those of the Albanian National Liberation Front. For our part, we will do everything possible to make the Greek comrades familiar with our directives. Misunderstanding of our directives by EAM would cause unacceptable confusion and mistakes which would be harmful to the war we are waging and to the fraternization of our two peoples. As you rightly stress in your letter, the Greek comrades who are to come to our country must place themselves at the disposal of our Party, mobilize the masses to join our ranks and work for the fraternization of our two peoples. We point these things out because mistakes have been made by our comrades and the Greek comrades who were working together with the Greek minority in Albania.

It is essential that you inform us of the outcome of the talks which you have had with

EDES (**1**), what points have been agreed on in these talks and to what extent they are being respected by Zervas. In any case, irrespective of what has been achieved between you and EDES, we'll not permit the Zervas elements to enter our country. We shall fight the slightest attempt which those elements might make from this side of our borders under the pretext of the agreement with EAM. The Zervas elements in Albania are directly linked with the Germans and Albanian reaction and in open struggle against us. The Greek comrades who will come to work with us must pursue this line of work.

Please inform us through the bearer of this letter whether you have contacts with the Supreme Staff of the Yugoslav forces.

Comradely greetings

For the Central Committee of
the Communist Party
of Albania

[Enver Hoxha]

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1 The Greek National Democratic Union — reactionary organization of traitors led by Zervas.

WE HAVE FOUGHT AND BLED TOGETHER WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE

NOVEMBER 28. 1944

*On the day the Democratic Government of Albania entered Tirana, a big rally was organized in the capital, in which Comrade Enver Hoxha (**1**) delivered a programmatic speech. Among other things, he spoke about the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people.*

We have fought and bled together with the neighbouring Greek people. We have bandaged each other's wounds in this common antifascist war, and it is our desire to be always on

1 At that time head of the Democratic Government of Albania and Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Army of Albania.

good terms with this generous people. With regret we observe that the chauvinist and reactionary bands of Zervas are martyring the Çamëria population, robbing them of their possessions and hounding them out of their territory. Zervas elements are crossing the border on the sly to kill or wound our partisans. We will never tolerate such acts in our country. Reactionary Greek circles have presented claims to annex our regions of Gjirokastra and Korça, or as they like to call them «Vorio Epirus». Such claims, naturally, do not make for good relations with our southern neighbours. Our borders are indisputable, because within them there is nothing but our land, the land bequeathed to us by our forefathers, land on which our blood has been shed. No one will dare to touch them; we shall know how to defend them if they do.

Our National Liberation Movement has given the Greek minority in Albania equal rights with the Albanian people. The Democratic Government of Albania will guarantee the Greek minority in our country the freedom and the democratic and national rights for which their sons fought heroically in the national liberation brigades.

THE HEROIC GREEK PEOPLE ARE FRIENDS OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

APRIL 16, 1945

At the 2nd Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth of Albania, which held its proceedings in Tirana, Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted the Congress and all the anti-fascist youth of our country. In his speech, among other things he also spoke about the claims of Greek reaction on Albania.

Here amongst you are representatives of EPON(**1**), the representatives of the heroic anti-fascist youth of the valiant Hellenic people from whom the chauvinists of Athens want to divide us. The reactionary fascist gentlemen of Athens are

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1 The All-Greece Youth Union Organization.

dreaming of gobbling up our territories. But they cannot gobble up our regions of Korça and Gjirokastra because there is someone who defends them. Those who were capable of liberating Albania from the Germans are also more than capable of defending the territorial integrity of their country from the whelps of fascism who are vegetating in Athens. The fascists of the «megali idhea» (**2**) are still living in the world of Hitler and with the crazy dreams of Hitler. But there are the wise to put a stop to the madmen. A thousand and one provocations are being committed beyond our southern border in order to disturb the waters. The Greek chauvinists, like dogs barking at the moon, are howling about the tortures which we are allegedly inflicting on the Greek minority in Albania. We are not beasts like them, but are human, we do not kill, massacre or plunder; we do not behave with the minority as the gangs of Zervas and Plastiras do with the population of Çamëria, whom they have savagely massacred and murdered. On the contrary, our stand towards the minority is the stand of one of the most advanced peoples of the world, of a people with humane feelings and exemplary justice. The Greek minority in democratic Albania enjoys all rights; it has its own schools, its own teachers, its own press, its own men in the government and in the army. The

2 The «great idea» — ideological platform of the Greek chauvinist bourgeoisie which aimed to create a great Greek state with the borders of the former Byzantine Empire.

Greek minority has won these undeniable rights at the cost of bloodshed, fighting shoulder to shoulder with its Albanian brothers against the common enemy — fascism and its lackeys; the old woman of the minority people and mother of the martyr Thanas Ziko (**3**) expressed the indivisible fraternity and love of the Greek minority for the noble-hearted people of Albania at the Meeting of Berat when she said: «I came to rejoice with you over these happy days which we have achieved, I came to see the comrades of my son who died for Democratic Albania!» The gentlemen of Athens want to darken these happy days about which the old woman from the minority spoke, they want to cover up their crimes by slandering us. But their slanders will rebound in their own faces, because small but heroic Albania has strong friends. Besides the whole progressive world and the peoples of the Soviet Union, it has all the progress-loving peoples of the Balkans. Small Albania has a real friend in the heroic Greek people, that people who never lowered the flag of resistance against Germany and its internal agents, that Greek people together with whom we have shed blood for freedom and democracy, that people who have nothing at all to do with the chauvinists of Athens.

We are a people who want to live in peace

3 Revolutionary patriot from the minority, who worked and fought for the overthrow of Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime. He died in exile in Belgrade in February 1941.

with everybody, but when it comes to defending our rights, when it comes to defending the integrity of our Homeland and the independence of Albania, we are not afraid to measure our strength with anyone, and no one frightens us. Let the monarcho-fascist gentlemen of Athens take note of this.

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE DID NOT DECLARE WAR ON GREECE

MARCH 10, 1946

The question of the admission of Albania as a member of the United Nations was raised in the Security Council of that Organization on February 12, 1946. On this occasion, the head of the Greek delegation to UNO, Mr. Rendis, in a letter to the Security Council, in which Albania is considered as a country which had been on the side of the Axis, sought postponement of the discussion of its admission until the next session of the Assembly.

In connection with this question, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his reply to a question asked him by the newspaper «Bashkimi», amongst other things said:

... The argument of Mr. Rendis presented to UNO to oppose the admission of Albania to this

organization, an argument supporting their [the Greek fascists'] imperialist pretensions, is as ludicrous as the pretext of fascist Italy when it declared war on Greece, a pretext which was based on «the killing of a certain Daut Hoxha».

Mr Rendis, his government and all the Greek fascists ought to realize one thing, that what Greece suffered from Italy in 1940, our country suffered on April 7, 1939. And when the Albanian people were fighting on April 7, at the beginning of the occupation, the friends of Mr Rendis, Metaxas and Co., not only did not raise their voice against this catastrophe which was occurring to the small neighbour of Greece, but did not even consider this aggression as an imminent danger which threatened Greece and the whole of the Balkans...

It was not the Albanian people who declared war on Greece but fascist Italy and the quisling Shefqet Vërlaci and his associates.

In regard to the declaration and waging of the war, the Albanian people are in no way responsible for this. On the contrary, our people were opposed to the Italo-Greek War, were with the heroic Greek people who were being killed and enslaved as they were themselves from April 7, 1939. Our people displayed these feelings which they nurtured for the neighbouring people by fighting against the Italian occupiers. Mr Rendis must know that when fascist Italy declared war on Greece, the prisons in Albania were filled with Albanian patriots for holding demonstrations

and fighting the Italian carabinieri in the city-streets; thousands of Albanian patriots filled the concentrations camps in Italy; the Italian Viceroy tried to clear the field by sending the Albanian youth to concentration camps because the resistance of our people was building up rapidly. Mr Rendis must know that the walls of Tirana were covered with slogans against the Italo-Greek War, that the resistance groups, through leaflets and propaganda, caused all the Albanian soldiers to desert from the ranks of the quisling army and they were interned in the fascist concentration camps. Mr Rendis must know that the armed units of the National Liberation Movement in Central Albania attacked the Italians transporting their supplies for the Greek front and that the desire expressed by our people to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Greek army against the Italians was refused categorically by the Greek Command. Moreover, when the Greek army entered the zones of Southern Albania, it disarmed the population of those zones! The Albanian people continued their sympathy for the Greek people and the solidarity in the war for the common cause under the German occupation, too. The battalions of our brigades, in fraternity with ELAS and the whole Greek people, crossed the border and attacked the German common occupier on Greek soil. The honest Greek people know these things and the bandit Zervas and his associates know them, too.

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS LIVED AS GOOD NEIGHBOURS WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE

AUGUST 21, 1946

At this time, the Peace Conference was being held in Paris. At the plenary session of this Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who headed the delegation of the Democratic Government of Albania, spoke about the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and about the sacrifices and the contribution they made to the achievement of the victory over fascism. He also presented the views and stands of Albania about the problems which were being discussed and refuted the false accusations of Tsaldaris.

When the Italians attacked Greece, the daring and powerful armed actions of the Al-

banian people were a great assistance to the Greek people who were suffering the same fate as ours. We were bound to each other by the same misfortune, caused by our common enemy. Along the roads of Durrës, Tirana, and Gjirokastra, the Albanian partisans attacked Italian military convoys heading for the Greek front.

Clearly seeing the danger threatening them, the Italians and the Albanian quislings, their tools, redoubled their efforts and stepped up their terror. The mountains were full of partisans, organized in regular formations, who made incessant attacks on the enemy. In reprisal, hundreds of villages were burned down, but we defended the liberated territory inch by inch. The Italians were obliged to take refuge in the towns, because the mountains were not so good for their health. The quisling governments, under Italian domination, fell and were replaced every ten months. The Albanian people made life impossible both for them and for their bosses. This showed the great gulf which separated the quislings from the heroic Albanian people.

Following the capitulation of Italy and the occupation of our country by German troops who came from Greece, the Albanian people closed their ranks still tighter because they knew they had to deal with another ferocious, bloodthirsty enemy...

The Albanian people come proudly to this Peace Conference convinced that they have completely fulfilled their duty as allies. Albania ap-

pears here to claim its right to reparations and to demand justice from Italy, which set it ablaze and drowned it in blood, and to dictate its will as a victor, so that Italy may no longer represent a threat to peace in the world, or to the independence and sovereignty of my country.

However, before stating the viewpoint of my country on this question, I feel it my duty to answer the false accusations of Mr Tsaldaris, the head of the Greek delegation, accusations and claims that he has formulated against Albania at various earlier sessions of this Conference.

Mr Tsaldaris tries to prove that Albania is not an allied country, that Albania attacked Greece, and consequently, is in a state of war with Greece. On the other hand, Mr Tsaldaris lays claim to Southern Albania, pretending that it is Greek territory and belongs by right to Greece.

On the question of whether Albania is an allied country and whether it has fully deserved this title, Mr Tsaldaris has our reply in the words I have just spoken. The Albanian people contemptuously reject the vile accusation of the Greek delegate, who labels my country an aggressor. The Albanian people have never attacked the honest Greek people, and have never declared war on them. On the contrary, they sympathized with their cause, which was also the cause of the Albanian people, since both nations had suffered the same fate and had to deal with the same enemy.

The Albanian people demonstrated, not only during the anti-fascist war, but also during the First World War, their determination to fight Italian imperialism, which had its eye on our land and resources. Between the Albanian people and the Italian fascists a terrible and merciless war was waged. That is why Mr. Tsaldaris will not succeed in convincing anybody, even the stupid, with his «famous» arguments; Mr. Tsaldaris should demand a settlement of accounts from fascist Italy for its disgraceful attack against his country, and not from us. He should call to account the war criminal, Victor Emmanuel, not the Albanian people, who were invaded by the same enemy as Greece, and who, like the Greek people, fought furiously for their independence and sovereignty.

It would be ridiculous to think that, by a paltry decree, Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, could lay the blame on the Albanian people who waged a merciless war against Italy right from the first days of the occupation, and who even made an attempt on the king's life during his only visit to Albania in May 1941. Mr. Tsaldaris uses the declaration of war on the part of the Albanian quisling Vërlaci as an argument to defend his thesis. The Albanian people lumped the occupiers and quislings together, and made no distinction between them. The Albanian quislings, like all the other quislings of Europe, had nothing in common with our people. They were the filthiest enemies of their people and, as such,

have been fought consistently. The Albanian quislings were not able to muster more than a few weak battalions against the liberation army and the allies, whereas the Albanian people rose as one man against the oppressor and the traitors. That is the difference between our people and the quislings Would Mr. Tsaldaris like to know in addition what the Albanian people did with those quislings? Just this: they wiped them out, all of them, and thus they paid with their lives for the crimes they committed. And if he wants to know more about the fate of their associates in the war, who fled with the German troops, he should know that these criminals may be found in the best hotels in Rome, the city from which the planes which so cravenly bombed Albanian and Greek women and children took off.

I would like to ask Mr. Tsaldaris: Why does he not mention the quislings of other European countries who so gravely damaged the allied cause, and in particular, those quislings who, after having committed horrible crimes, now walk freely in the streets? Why is it that Mr. Tsaldaris dare not confuse the other European quislings with their respective nations?

I would like to remind you that during the Italo-Greek War, some hundred Albanian soldiers, forced into service by the Italians, rose against them and made common cause with the Greek people; some deserted and went over to the Greek troops to fight alongside them, but they were treated as prisoners of war and sent

to Crete, where during the German landing, they fought valiantly beside the British soldiers. Some joined the Albanian partisans, while others were disarmed by the Italians, withdrawn from the front, confined to the Shijak concentration camp, and court-martialled for «high treason».

On December 22, 1940, on this event, the REUTER news agency sent out the following item from Manastir:

«The Albanian soldiers, forcibly conscripted into the Italian army, yesterday rebelled in a sector behind the Italian lines, causing the enemy heavy losses before being captured. Some have taken to the hills, and are continuing to offer resistance.»

On December 4, 1940, the ANATOLI news agency reported from Athens that «an Italian general taken prisoner by the Greeks has declared that the Italian army is suffering heavy losses because of the defection of the Albanians.»

Mussolini himself, in a letter to Hitler on November 22, 1940, tried to justify the Italian losses in the same way.

Here is what Badoglio says in his memoirs:

«The campaign has begun. The entire world knows of its progress. The Greek troops in Epirus are resisting valiantly on the Calamas River, while the Albanian bands and troops which were part of our divisions have either betrayed us, sabotaging our operations, or have gone over to the Greeks.»

The newspaper *Le Figaro*, in its issue No.

588 of July 4, 1946, referring to the Italo-Greek War, writes:

«The Albanian partisan detachments, for their part, attacked Italian convoys and troops on the roads leading to the front.»

On October 26, 1940, the BBC broadcast:

«We are informed from Albania that Albanian partisan units, operating behind the Italian lines, are cutting and sabotaging lines of communication, sowing terror among cut-off Italian detachments.

«Armed groups have succeeded in entering the capital and have posted proclamations on all the government buildings, and even on the palace of the Italian government, calling on the Italians to get out of Albania.»

Likewise on January 4, 1941, the BBC broadcast:

«In military circles it is pointed out that the Albanians are giving the Greeks great aid against the Italians.»

But along with his lying accusations against the Albanian people, perhaps Mr. Tsaldaris should give us here some explanation of these questions:

— Does he also consider as aggressors, as he does Albania, the various nations of Europe, whose quislings not only sent battalions but even organized entire expeditions against the heroic Red Army, which was an example of heroism and valour to all nations and, at the same time, their surest support? It is difficult for him to answer this question.

— Does Mr. Tsaldaris perhaps consider France, from which Hitler intended to launch his offensive against Britain, to be an aggressor country? He will find it difficult to answer this question, too.

Mr Tsaldaris thinks that he can say what he likes against tiny Albania, but he is mistaken. His worthless arguments will not hold water.

No, the Albanian people have never been and never will be aggressors, and do not pose any threat to the Greek people, as Mr Tsaldaris claims. The attacks on our country by the first Greek delegate and his claims that it is we who are causing trouble, remind us of one of La Fontaine's fables. We have always lived in harmony with the Greek people, with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder against the Italian and German fascist occupiers.

During the anti-fascist war, the Albanian people established links of sincere friendship with their neighbours, the Yugoslav and Greek peoples.

In the light of these facts, the Greek accusations are seen for what they really are: lies devoid of any foundation. But has Mr Tsaldaris so quickly forgotten the fact that the Greek quislings, together with the Germans, often fought against the Albanians, and are responsible for a thousand atrocities?

Here are some facts:

On September 8, 1943, the day of Italy's capitulation, the Germans, coming from the Say-

adha region and guided by a Zervas captain, named Vitos, entered Konispol and burnt down more than 50 houses. During the great 1943-1944 winter offensive launched by the Germans against our National Liberation Army, the German troops, together with Zervas bands, came to Albania from Greece, and set fire to the Zagoria and Pogon regions.

Other Zervas bands, together with the Germans, fought against the Albanian partisans in January 1944, and set fire to the villages of Krane and Dermish, as well as the houses of all the partisans from the Greek minority of Dropull, while in February 1944 these bands burned down the village of Dhrovjan.

During the other large-scale offensive unleashed by the Germans in June 1944, Zervas forces again came, together with the German troops, from Greece, crossing the border at Voshtina, and set fire to everything in the Zagoria region they had left unburnt the first time. Each time the Germans came from Greece to attack the forces of our National Liberation Army, their main support was the armed bands of the Greek quisling general, Napoleon Zervas.

The Greek delegation has claimed that the present Albanian government is pursuing a policy of denationalizing the Greek minority in Albania.

Gentlemen, the Greek minority in Albania fought shoulder to shoulder with all the Albanian people against the fascist and nazi occupiers, and against the Albanian and Greek quislings. Today

in the People's Republic of Albania it enjoys equal rights with the Albanian population. It has 79 seven-year schools and one secondary school in the Greek language, has its own autonomous local administration, just like the Albanian population, and sends representatives to the People's Assembly. There are also citizens of the Greek minority in the army and the government.

On the other hand, I do not know if the honourable delegates are aware of the terror exercised against the Çamëria population in Greece. In June 1944 and March 1945, the armed bands of the quisling general, Napoleon Zervas, set their villages on fire, plundered their property, and killed thousands of men and women, old people and children. More than 20,000 people of Çamëria who managed to escape, fled to Albania where, although they are assisted by the Albanian government and people, they live in great poverty.

But the real aim of all these allegations by the Greek delegate is to take two regions from Albania, those of Korça and Gjirokastra, which have always been among the most ardent centres of Albanian patriotism, both during the long Turkish occupation and during the National Liberation War against the Italian and German occupiers. These aims reflect the old «megali idhea» policy, that is to say, of Greek imperialist expansion over the entire Balkan region, an idea which has also germinated in the heads of the

present Greek rulers. In fact, these people, with their claims on Albania, their daily provocations on our borders, and their intrigues, like the proposal Mr Tsaldaris made to the Yugoslav delegate that Albania (**1**) be partitioned between Yugoslavia and Greece, are trying to disturb the peace in the Balkans.

Gentlemen, we consider it to be out of place and unacceptable for this Conference to examine the question of the territorial integrity of Albania. The Albanian people, few in number, but great in the sacrifices they made for the common cause, are not here to discuss their borders, but to express and demand their rights.

We solemnly declare that within our present borders there is not one inch of foreign soil, and that we will never permit anyone to encroach upon them, for to us they are sacred...

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1 At the Paris Peace Conference, Tsaldaris made to the head of the Yugoslav delegation a secret proposal to partition Albania between Greece and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav representative turned down the proposal in the hope that eventually the whole of Albania would become part of Yugoslavia.

OUR BORDERS CANNOT BE DISCUSSED

SEPTEMBER 16, 1946

Before leaving Paris, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a clear and resolute statement to representatives of the press in Paris, in which he rejected the decision of this Conference to discuss the borders of Southern Albania.

The text of this statement follows:

My people, who were the first to hurl themselves in the war against fascism and fought through to the end, had great confidence, when they sent me to the Peace Conference, that they would receive greater justice. The Albanian people, through me, have sought nothing but that justice for which their heroic sons and daughters gave their lives, have sought nothing but the fruit of their great sacrifices. This justice has

been denied us. After so many sacrifices made by our people, after so many brilliant proofs of their heroism and self-denial, after so much blood shed by all mankind, there are individuals who shamelessly deny our gigantic efforts, who describe our war as a «myth», who want to place us on the same footing as the Italian fascist aggressors and who demand from our country territories which have never been theirs. However, our people are not surprised that there are such individuals even today, although they regret to see that the representatives of certain allied countries, who are very well aware of our heroic war, who know the great sacrifices we have made, and who themselves have praised them, are giving open or disguised support to representatives of the government in Athens, disturbers of peace in the Balkans and the world. History will be the judge to this great injustice which is being done to Albania, but Albania will stand with its head high, because in the time of danger it performed its duty to mankind to the end.

The civilized and democratic peoples certainly understand this injustice which is being done to my small country which deserves full honours and rights.

When the Albanian people were bravely fighting fascism, others were throwing flowers at it, but when the time came that our people demanded the place they so richly deserved in UNO or the Peace Conference, stones were

thrown at them. My people will never be able to understand this logic, because this is not honourable. But in this whole question one thing is clear: the rights of small peoples are frequently trampled upon. My people are completely convinced of this, just as they are convinced of and grateful, on the other hand, for the great and sincere friendship which was displayed towards them at every moment when our question was put forward by many delegations of allied countries and friends, both at the Paris Peace Conference and UNO.

However, the Albanian people, who were never discouraged even in the most critical moments of their existence, will continue on the road of progress and will exert all their modest strength for the consolidation of peace. My people, who are working in peace and order for the rebuilding of their homes, are not afraid of the Greek fascists who are hatching up plots against them. We are a peace-loving people, but we are not a people who allow others to trample on us. We know how to defend our rights, our freedom, our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity. For centuries on end the Albanian people have fought to win these sacred rights and they are ready, even today, to begin their struggle all over again if the fascist adventurers dare to lay a finger on them.

Since the liberation of my country, the Greek monarcho-fascists have done nothing but

commit provocations on our southern border; almost every day armed attacks of the Greeks are carried out against our border guards, against our hard-working and peace-loving people, against our ports and shores. To the Greek fascists it is intolerable that a strong and healthy democracy, such as this of ours, should exist on their northern border. They are doing their utmost to disturb peace in the Balkans, they are even going so far as to demand Southern Albania, because, they claim, «it is Greek territory». The Paris Conference voted in favour of the Greek demand the aim of which is discussion of the borders of SouthernAlbania.(**1**)

I solemnly declare that neither the Paris Conference, nor the Big Four Conference, nor

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1 On August 30, 1946 the plenary meeting of the Paris Peace Conference, by a small majority of vote and in violation of the rights and sovereignty of the Albanian people, unjustly decided to include in the agenda of the next plenary meeting of the Conference the Greek demand which placed the borders of Southern Albania in dispute.

At the plenary meeting of September 6, the Greek demand was not even mentioned, while at the plenary meeting of September 26, it turned out that the Greek delegation had withdrawn the draft resolution presented on August 30 about its territorial claims on Albania.

Thus, the discussion of the borders of Southern Albania, which was placed on the agenda of the Conference on the basis of the Greek demand and proposal, was withdrawn by its own authors and the Greek monarcho-fascists, along with international reaction which supported them, suffered a sensational and disgraceful fiasco.

any other conference can take up for discussion the borders of our country within which there is not an inch of foreign territory. Our borders cannot be discussed and no one will dare to lay a finger on them. To be able to take an inch of the territory of our country, the Greek reaction will have to set in motion other mechanisms besides the vote of the Paris Conference. The whole world must know that the Albanian people do not permit their borders and territories to be discussed.

On the other hand, I protest against the decision taken at the plenary session of the Paris Conference. The Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand a reckoning from those who have damaged them so greatly and whom they have fought sternly through to the end. We have done our duty just as the Great Powers have done theirs. Our martyrs and sacrifices are just as sacred to us as are the martyrs and sacrifices of the Great Powers; all our rights are just as sacred to us as theirs are to them. Apparently, however, the Paris Conference did not take these things into account.

In leaving Paris, on behalf of our people, I want to thank all the representatives of those countries who defended the just and well-earned cause of the small Albanian people. On the other hand, we wish with all our hearts that an end will be put to this unjust campaign of slanders

from start to finish against our country, which has fought so courageously against fascism and which will expend all its strength to consolidate a just and lasting peace.

WE SYMPATHIZE WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE GREEK PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

OCTOBER 3, 1947

At a big rally which was held in the city of Gjirokastra, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who was on a working visit to some districts of Central and Southern Albania, delivered a speech in which he also dwelt on problems of the international situation, and in this context, touched briefly on some political developments in the neighbouring countries. About the situation in Greece he said:

When our people are rebuilding their country which was devastated during the war, when our country is working with all its might to strengthen the people's democracy and advance

on its peaceful and progressive course, Greek monarcho-fascism is employing a thousand and one of the basest methods to inflict harm on our people. You know what a terrible tragedy is occurring in Greece. The unfortunate but heroic Greek people are fighting against monarcho-fascists and the foreign intervention. The progressive and democratic world is profoundly indignant when it sees the great tragedy of that people who deserve to live free and sovereign, but who, unfortunately, are being mercilessly oppressed and killed by collaborators of Italo-German fascism who are now under the direct orders of Anglo-American reaction. Our people, like all the other peoples of the world, sympathize with the heroic struggle of the Greek people who fought bravely against the Italian and German occupiers and are now fighting heroically to liberate themselves from the new occupiers and the bloodthirsty monarcho-fascist quislings. Anyone who considers himself a democrat could not but sympathize with the efforts of the Greek people for freedom and democracy. However, the struggle of the Greek people is an internal struggle that they and they alone must deal with, and it does not behove our people and our government to meddle in any way in the internal problems of others. The Albanian people and government have never meddled and never will meddle in the internal affairs of Greece, because they are the problems of the Greek people themselves and they must solve their problems in the way they

themselves desire. This has been, is, and will be our stand. I repeat this, because you know what a campaign of slanders and lies has been launched against our country by the Greek monarcho-fascists and their American and British protectors. They make the accusation that our country is allegedly interfering in the problems of Greece, that we are assisting the struggle of the democrats, and that allegedly we are supplying them with arms and ammunition, and hence, from this they want to draw the conclusion that the struggle of the Greek people is being incited and maintained by foreigners. The Greek people are being tortured, killed and burnt out by fascist bandits, and they have taken up arms to save their lives and the lives of their children, to save their homeland. The Americans, the British and those who do their dirty work call this foreign intervention. This, you might say, is trying to cover the sun with a sieve. No, our people do not have a finger in the war of the Greek people, but when the Americans, British and monarcho-fascists make these accusations and slanders, their aim is to cover up the true nature of the war of the Greek people, to cover up the origin of this war, to cover up the terror of Greek monarcho-fascism, to cover up the tragic game they are engaged in, or I might say, their open savage intervention. It is as tragic as it is ridiculous for America to accuse our small, peace-loving people of being the cause of the war which is being waged in Greece and supplying arms and am-

munition for this war. No one can swallow this, the Americans can convince only themselves. The hostile attitude of the American and British governments towards our country and people is known by the whole Albanian people and all peoples of the world. Against a small people, who have fought with heroism against occupiers, who have set up one of the most democratic regimes and who are engaged with all their might in constructive and peaceful work, American and British reaction is employing a thousand and one anti-democratic methods, using the threats, blackmail and slanders which are known to all of you and which are used, as has been proven, in order to damage our country and our people's democracy. You have heard everything that the filthy agents of the Anglo-Americans admitted at their trial in Tirana, you have heard how members of the Anglo-American missions together with the traitors of the Albanian people plotted to overthrow the people's power in Albania, how they organized acts of sabotage and assassinations. Those individuals and those governments who have the shamelessness to concoct baseless slanders against our small people are involved up to their elbows in interference in our internal affairs. However, they got nowhere. All their criminal activities were discovered in time and their agents will receive the punishment they deserve. The statements of the Department of State and the Foreign Office denying the interference of their men in the internal af-

fairs of a sovereign state are in vain. The facts and arguments are much too solid to crumble in the face of such statements. The officials of the American Department of State describe the saboteurs, the assassins, the bandits and the spies who were tried in Tirana, who wanted to give to the Greece of Tsaldaris the cities of Gjirokastra and Korça which are cradles of the patriotism of our country, as democrats and liberals. Imagine what the American Department of State conceives as democracy. No, in our country where the people have shed so much blood and there is a genuine democracy, we call Shefqet Beja (**1**) and company fascist bandits and condemn them without mercy, whether or not the officials of the American Department of State like it. But the thing is that it is not to the liking of the American Department of State that the people are in power, governing themselves, making their own laws and building their lives as they desire. That Department which is vainly accusing others of interference in other peoples' business, is not only interfering itself, but is striving with every means to crush other peoples under the iron heel. That is the alleged democracy of the Department of State, with its Truman Doctrine and Marshal Plan. What is occur-

1 Ex-deputy who placed himself in the service of American and British imperialists to overthrow the people's power by means of force. He was tried by the people's court for treason to the Homeland and received the sentence he deserved.

ring in Greece is the doing of American and British reaction and the monarcho-fascists alone and of nobody else. Monarcho-fascist Greece has not only been transformed into a base of American reaction, but it has also become a threat to peace in the Balkans and the world.

For years on end the Greek monarcho-fascists have been pursuing against our country a campaign of provocations and insults, a campaign of territorial pretensions, a war of nerves outdoing those of the German nazis. Almost every day the monarcho-fascists of Athens and their gangs commit provocations on our borders, shoot at our guards and kill our peaceful peasants working in the fields. All these things come within the general plan hatched up by American and British reaction to support their thesis which has long been bankrupt. The monarcho-fascists have given refuge to a number of Albanian fascist bandits and organize them in small groups to attack our guards, to create incidents on the borders, and to infiltrate into our country to carry out assassinations and sabotage. But our borders are inviolable, protected by the sons of our heroic people, who fought the Germans and Italians for years on end and defeated them and are not afraid of the dogs of Zervas or Tsaldaris.

Let the monarcho-fascists do what they like across the border, but they know very well what awaits them on this side of the border. However, in case they do not know, we tell them now: in

defence of our Homeland, our borders and our rights we are fearless and we do not bat an eye. You are well aware of the lunatic claims of the Greek fascists to the so-called Vorio Epirus, that is, to Gjirokastra and Korça, indeed even to Elbasan right up to the Shkumbin River. This is their same old story, this is the old refrain of the «megali idhea» of Venizelos(**2**)and the gangs of Zographos.(**3**)We have no time to deal at length with these matters, but the Albanian people tell the Greek monarcho-fascists bluntly: Korça and Gjirokastra are our territories and ours alone. We advise those who want to lay hands on them not to play with fire.

The Greek monarcho-fascists are concocting the basest slanders that the Albanians allegedly kill, torture and burn out the small Greek minority that lives in our region of Gjirokastra. There could be no greater lie. But the Greek monarcho-fascists measure things by their own yardstick and think that we act as they acted with the Albanians in Çamëria, whom they killed, burned out and finally robbed and expelled. No, you know better than anyone how we live with the fraternal Greek minority in our country. We have the Greek minority in Albania as our brothers. The members of the minority are linked with the Albanian people like flesh to bone. The brave sons of the peasants of the minority fought

2 Elevtherios Venizelos, reactionary Greek politician.

3 An enemy of the Albanian national movement, he fought for the annexation of Southern Albania by Greece.

shoulder to shoulder with the Albanian people, fought for the freedom of Albania, for genuine democracy, and at the same time, like the whole Albanian people, fought to liberate themselves from bondage to the aghas and beys of Libohova and Gjirokastra. The Albanian people sing to the bravery of Lefter Talo, Thanas Ziko and other martyrs from the minority, just as they sing songs to Asim Zeneli or Qemal Stafa. Generation after generation the Albanian people will not separate the sons of the minority who fell in the war from their own sons. The Greek minority fought together with the Albanian people, together with the Albanian people they triumphed, and are enjoying and living the new life together with the fraternal Albanian people. The peasants of the minority received the land from the Land Reform, and this has now become theirs forever. They have the aid of the people's state, which is their state, and which does not make the slightest distinction between them and the rest of the Albanian population. The Greek minority has all rights, has its own schools and its own newspaper in the Greek language. Our brothers and sisters of the Greek minority know and enjoy all these rights. They understand how ludicrous and base are the slanders of the fascists of Athens. The Greek minority in Albania, which is living in peace and enjoying life, sees what is going on in Greece and where the monarcho-fascists of Athens are leading the heroic Greek people. And the hearts of the brothers and sis-

ters of the Greek minority in Albania have been saddened by the great misfortunes which are occurring to their brothers in Greece. This is true of them, just as it is of us. However, the Greek minority, linked forever with the Albanian people, should be proud of the heroic Greek people, who are invincible and who are fighting bravely against the occupiers and the fascist gangs of Tsaldaris for the freedom of Greece and for genuine democracy.

WE LOVE THE FRATERNAL GREEK PEOPLE WHOLEHEARTEDLY

NOVEMBER 8, 1948

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, which was held in Tirana on November 8-22, 1948, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report of the Central Committee. In this report the entire activity of the CPA from its founding was analysed and the tasks for the future were clearly defined. Speaking about the relations and friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples, among other things Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Our Party and people have a great love and admiration for the fraternal democratic Greek people, who are carrying on with such heroism their struggle for liberation for many

years on end. Our people could not fail to feel in their hearts the great suffering of the Greek people from the tragedy caused by the Anglo-Americans, who have interfered militarily in the most brutal manner in that country. Violating every international law, the Americans are drowning an entire people in blood, and the responsibility of this tragedy falls on them, and only on them and their lackeys, the bloodthirsty fascists of Athens. We love the fraternal Greek people, outstanding fighters for freedom and democracy, wholeheartedly, and our people are with them in their gigantic efforts, because we recall our common struggle waged against the Italian and German occupiers, the countless sacrifices and sufferings we endured together for the liberation of our countries from the heavy bondage of fascism. But the heroic Greek people did not succeed in winning victory, as the Albanian people did. The brutal intervention by Anglo-American imperialism caused the continuation of the war on the Greek soil.

Through a thousand intrigues, slanders, blackmail, the American and British imperialists and all their lackeys are trying to lay the blame on us, accusing us of interference, of supplying arms, and of many other non-existent things. But all their manoeuvres have been thoroughly exposed, because they are nothing but monstrous slanders whose only aim is to make us responsible for what is happening in Greece. Our state has never interfered and will never interfere in

the internal affairs of Greece, and our alleged supply of the Greek democratic army with arms is nothing but a slander, invented by the Anglo-American governments and their agencies such as UNSCOB.(**1**)If international reaction considers the great love of our people for the Greek people, and the great admiration and joy felt by our people at the victories of the heroic Greek democratic army as weapons, then we have already said and will say again, that love for the fraternal Greek people is growing day by day in the hearts of our people. The Americans and the British know very well that we have not interfered and will not interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. But they put out this slander with the express purpose of covering up and justifying their brutal interference, their oppression of the Greek people. At the same time they are doing these things also in order to internationalize the conflict, and this is the purpose of all their base accusations against Albania, and of the innumerable provocations they have committed and are committing along our southern borders. But none of their threats can intimidate us, because the correct policy of our Party and state, the vigilance and powerful defence of our people and army, will defeat all the manoeuvres and intrigues of Anglo-American imperialism.

Our people have provided and will provide

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1 UNSCOB — United Nations Special Commission On the Balkans

asylum to the Greek refugees, to innocent men, women and children, who have come to us pursued, maimed, and terrorized by the monarcho-fascist beasts, solely because they are democrats and sons of democrats. The Constitution of our People's Republic and the just, democratic policy of our government provide refuge for those persecuted for patriotic and democratic activity. But the Albanian government has also maintained a correct stand towards Greek militarymen, whether democrats or monarcho-fascists, who have crossed our borders.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania has always followed a peaceful policy of good neighbourliness towards Greece, and has always expressed its goodwill towards the ending, as soon as possible, of the tense situation created on our southern borders because of the aggressive policy of the monarcho-fascist government of Athens, which is instigated and supported by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The Albanian government has always been ready to collaborate within the United Nations for the correct solution of the Greek problem. Even now it reiterates its readiness to reconsider the question of establishing diplomatic relations with the government of Athens, if it shows signs of renouncing its provocative and war-mongering policy, and of abandoning its insane territorial claims at the expense of our country. The proposals of our delegation to the present session of

the General Assembly of the United Nations are inspired by this peaceful policy of goodwill.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania is also considering with great attention the proposal put forward on November 5, 1948, in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which recommends the immediate meeting in Paris of the representatives of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav governments, who will probe the possibility of achieving an accord on the methods and procedure to be adopted for the settlement of disagreements existing among them.

In this case, too, inspired, as always, by its peaceful democratic policy, it is again ready to hold properly constituted talks for the solution of the Greek problem and for the establishment of normal relations with Greece.

BELOYANIS — HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

MARCH 31, 1952

The Albanian people were immensely angered that Greek reaction executed one of the glorious sons of the Greek people, Nicos Beloyanis, who fought heroically against the Italian and German fascist occupiers and the Anglo-American imperialists.

On the opening day of the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania (March 31, 1952), speaking about the peoples' struggle for peace in the report which he delivered, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Let us remind them [the masses] of the heroic fighter of the Greek people, Comrade Ni-

cos Beloyanis, whom the chiefs of Athens shot yesterday morning.

To honour the unforgettable memory of our dear and heroic Greek comrade, Nicos Beloyanis, (**1**) I invite the Congress of our Party to observe one minute silence as a sign of love and unbreakable friendship with the fraternal Greek people.

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1 As a mark of respect, in 1952 the workers' holiday camp in Durrës was given the name «Nicos Beloyanis».

THE GREEK PEOPLE, A CULTURED, MODEST, INDUSTRIOUS AND FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE

MAY 25, 1956

Dealing with international events and the foreign policy of our country in chapter 4 of the report delivered at the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, also spoke about the relations of our country and people with Greece and the Greek people.

The Albanian people have great sympathy for the heroic Greek people who have fought for their freedom and independence for centuries. Greece was the cradle of civilization. Our two peoples have languished under the bondage of imperialist invaders, have fought. together and helped each other to liberate themselves from the yoke of oppressors. The Albanian people

know the Greek people as a cultured, modest, industrious and freedom-loving people and are immensely grieved when they see that good neighbourly relations with them are being hindered by the Greek chauvinists who claim that Albania and Greece are allegedly in a state of war. Such an absurd claim hinders the normalization of the situation between our countries. But who attacked Greece, the Albanian people or fascist Italy? It is very well known that the Albanian people fought shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people against the Italian fascist and German nazi aggressors. The Albanian people shed a great deal of blood against the Italian fascists and Albanian traitors until they defeated them and drove them from Albania. Another hindrance to normal relations between our countries is the claim of the Greek chauvinists to Southern Albania. How is it possible that in the 20th century such fantastic, baseless and predatory claims could be made against a country and a people who throughout their existence have fought for their own land, for their freedom and independence? But you see that there exists in Greece a clique of reactionary chauvinists who, for purposes completely alien to the Greek people, have pretensions to purely Albanian territories, to the Homeland of the Albanians. Of course, such pretensions will remain only desires which will never be realized, because the borders of Albania are inviolable and will remain so. But we hope and desire that people of goodwill, the

democratic and progressive people in Greece and the Greek government itself will take a more realistic and just view of the issues, because relations of friendship and good neighbourliness between Albania and Greece are in the common interest of the two countries and in the interest of peace in the Balkans. The intrigues of imperialists who have no goodwill either towards the Greek people or the Albanian people, and the intrigues of those who aim to create and maintain a tense situation between our two countries, must stop. We have suffered greatly from the bondage and intrigues of imperialists. The Greek people have suffered just as much from the imperialists and are still doing so today. The Albanian people and the Albanian government think that the time has come to reject these fabrications which hinder good neighbourly relations between our two countries. We want to have normal diplomatic relations with Greece, to develop trade within our possibilities, to get to know each other better and to establish that mutual trust which is so important. We have hopes that we will achieve this.

THE PEOPLE OF DROPULL ARE INTELLIGENT, HARD-WORKING AND PATRIOTIC

JULY 29, 1956

In the morning of July 29, 1956, Comrade Enver Hoxha, accompanied by the local authorities, had a meeting with the members of the agricultural cooperative of Goranxia of Lower Dropull. Many cooperativists of Derviçan and Vanistra also took part. In an atmosphere of rejoicing, Comrade Enver Hoxha transmitted ardent greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the government to those present and all the people of Dropull and talked at length with them.

... The minority people of the zone of Dropull are intelligent, hard-working and patriotic, and loyal to the Party just like the Albanian

people. There is a reason for this. In the past the people of Dropull suffered as much as the Albanian people and the Party gave them freedom, the land, schools in their mother tongue and all the rights which they enjoy today, therefore, they nurture profound respect and love for the Party and are always ready to apply the line of the Party. A living fact which proves this is that agricultural cooperatives have been set up in all the villages of the Plain of Dropull. This is the only correct and proven road for the construction of socialist society in the countryside. We have achieved great successes in the construction of socialism in our country and the life of the people has been greatly improved. On our course for the construction of socialism we also have difficulties which we will always overcome, and we communists do not hide these difficulties from the people. But, exploiting these temporary difficulties, certain people are criticizing our course. These are the elements from whom the people took power. They speak in this way because they can no longer live that life they lived before, with all the blessings at your expense.

Nasho Sharra, who was a poor farmer before Liberation, was quite right when he said that we were brought up on beans, and never even saw coffee or sugar, and even had to pay money for the water we drank, while now we have everything, thanks to the people's power which brought us into the light.

Our Party, which is guided by the interna-

tionalist principles, has done and is doing everything for the people of the minority as well as for the people of the whole country. It opened elementary and 7-year schools for the minority and last year opened the teacher training secondary school in the Greek language for the sons and daughters of the minority people. In the people's councils of the villages, which are the government of the villages, and in the other higher organs of the state and the Party, the minority people are represented by their own sons. Many young people from your zone are studying in the higher schools of our country or are working with their Albanian brothers in factories and combines.

Certain people abroad have still not abandoned their attempt to obscure the reality about the life of the minority. However, it is true that recently many of them have begun to understand the foolishness of their own words. Of course, the funds which the American Department of State allocates for disruptive activity, sabotage and propaganda are aimed against our country, too, but the activity of the Americans and their friends has not had and will not have any success among our people who have foiled all their diabolical plans and always will do so. The fairy tales which the traitor Pandeleimon Kotoko and his henchmen concoct over lunch about the so-called Vorio Epirus have now become not only stale but also ridiculous. To these individuals who are out of their minds we say:

Forget your tales about «Vorio-Epirus», because they are now long out of date, and you no longer have teeth to bite what you call Vorio Epirus and we call Albania, which always has been and always will be Albania, and no force in the world will dare to touch the borders of our country because there's someone who defends them.

The people of goodwill in Greece who want to create good neighbourly bonds with our country, a thing which has always been our desire, must clear the road of brambles and of Pandeleimon Kotoko and company. Let them send them as monks to some old monastery of the Sacred Mountain, because they are anachronistic remnants.

The American Department of State with its dollars is trying in vain to deceive our brothers from the minority who emigrated to the United States of America to escape the sufferings imposed on them by the anti-popular regimes of the past. In America they hide from these brothers the truth about their Homeland, our successes and progress, the fact that the minority people have equal rights with the rest of the population of our country, they hide from them the fact that the minority people have become owners of the land which up till yesterday was exploited by the aghas of Gjirokastra, whom the Party struck down so hard that they will never again raise their heads. They hide from them that cooperatives are being set up here, that houses and kindergartens are being built, that the fields are

flourishing and that the life of the people here has changed. They hide all these things from our brothers in order to make them despair. Our task, your task, is to enlighten the minds of our emigrant brothers, to tell them the truth about the rejuvenated land of their birth, about the happy life which their families enjoy today in the bosom of the Homeland. In this way they will see more clearly that America is an evil stepmother which exploits them and makes them suffer in body and soul. Our government has made and is making continuous efforts to ensure that we live like good neighbours with the fraternal Greek people. Our Party has always exposed the efforts which the imperialists make to create and raise international tension, although their efforts have never been successful, thanks to the peaceful policy which the socialist countries and the progressive peoples in the world are pursuing together with the other countries which do not want war...

The 3rd Congress of the Party set important tasks for the development of agriculture during the 2nd Five-year Plan. To strengthen the agricultural cooperatives economically, I advise the cooperativists to make bold plans, to plant more maize, and to struggle to get greater yields from this crop. They should increase the number of cows, pigs, and so on, and make better use of the aid which the state provides. In order to strengthen the cooperatives organizationally, the meetings of assemblies should be more lively, cri-

ticism and self-criticism in them should be sounder, the voice of the women, who are very hard-working in the zone of Dropull, should be heard, and the control from below should be strengthened.

I wish you success in your work in order to make your life, the life of our marvellous people, happier.

THE TIME HAS COME WHEN RELATIONS BETWEEN ALBANIA AND GREECE SHOULD BE NORMALIZED

*From the interview (**1**) given to Manolis Glezos for the newspaper «Avyi» of EDA (**2**)*

NOVEMBER 22, 1957

QUESTION: In general, how do you regard the normalization of relations between Albania and Greece? What measures do you consider

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1 At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha was in Moscow to attend the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1957. He met M. Glezos there and gave him this interview.

2 United Democratic Party of the Left, a political party formed in 1957 in Greece to represent the interests of the broad strata of working people in town and countryside. Its organ was the newspaper *Avyi*.

should be taken for the improvement of these relations?

REPLY: We think the time has come when the relations between the PR of Albania and Greece should be normalized. Regardless of the different forms of our regimes, our two countries should live in good neighbourliness, establish diplomatic relations, begin commercial exchanges and also create possibilities for cultural relations.

We think that an end should be put to the artificial and baseless obstacles which have been raised against this normalization of relations between the two countries, and that the common interests of the Albanian people and the Greek people, as well as the interests of peace in the Balkans and in Europe require this. Italian and German fascism enslaved our two peoples, but both the Albanian people and the Greek people fought against the same enemy and won freedom. To try to keep the Greek people alienated from the Albanian people is not only a great mistake, but is also an impossibility. Despite the efforts of those elements who are striving to artificially deepen the division through absurd claims, the Albanian people and the Greek people have always been friends and have always fought together against the same enemies. The Albanian people nurture great sympathy for the Greek people, because they are an industrious, wise, brave and freedom-loving people. We know that the Greek people, too, nurture similar feelings for the Albanian people. Therefore, there is no

reason why good relations between our two countries should be hindered. For our part, we have taken steps in this direction. We repatriated the Greeks who were in our country and we regret that in connection with this question a part of the Greek press, I refer to the reactionary part, is distorting the facts. We have proposed the regulation of the border pyramids; we, together with the Greek government, have decided to clear the Corfu Channel of any mines which may be found there, and we are ready and wish to have commercial relations with Greece. We are optimistic because the clouds which obscured the establishment of normal relations between our two countries have begun to disperse. We hope that with the goodwill of both sides we will eliminate them completely.

QUESTION: There are no diplomatic links between Greece and the German Democratic Republic although there are economic relations. Do you consider that the establishment of reciprocal economic relations between Greece and the GDR, or Greece and Albania will assist the improvement of relations? In this case what goods would it be desirable for Albania to offer Greece, and what goods would Greece offer Albania?

REPLY: We think that we can and should begin trade exchanges with Greece. I can say that irrespective of the fact that we do not have diplomatic relations, these exchanges could begin just as they take place between Greece and other countries with which it has no diplomatic rela-

tions. I can say that Greek commercial firms have written to us that they want to trade with us. Our trade organs have given them a positive reply. We could sell the Greeks oil, bitumen, chromium and many other industrial goods and buy from the Greeks industrial, livestock and other products.

Certainly, closer contacts between commercial firms will open good and profitable prospects for trade between our two countries. This will also bring about better knowledge of the economic and cultural development of our two countries and will open the way for exchanges of cultural delegations. We desire that the fraternal Greek people should be acquainted with the reality of our country, and we have hopes that representatives of progressive Greek opinion will come to Albania, and representatives of Albanian cultural and social organizations will go to Greece in order to get to know one another's work and culture.

The Albanian people are freedom-loving and have always fought for the freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Today they have won their freedom and are building socialism successfully, they are determined fighters for peace.

QUESTION: What is the stand of Albania towards the problems of Cyprus?

REPLY: Having a high appreciation of the question of the freedom of peoples, the Albanian people are for the liberation of the people of Cy-

prus from the domination of the British colonialists.

The Albanian people wish the fraternal Greek people a happy and prosperous life!

MARCH 1958

INTERESTING STUDIES ABOUT THE ANTIQUITY OF OUR PEOPLE

Professor Spiro Konda has sent me a synopsis of his work: *The Albanians and the Pelasgian Problem*. In it, basing himself on the works of great Greek writers of antiquity, like Homer, or philosophers like Aristotle, and making comparisons of the language of the Albanians with Sanskrit and other languages like ancient Greek, or on historical facts, place names, archaeological discoveries, geographical data, etc., he tries to prove the antiquity and origin of the Albanian people, ranks them as contemporary with the «Japhethic» peoples and links their ancestry with the Pelasgians. Prof. Konda points out that the existence of the Pelasgians is not a fantasy, that they represent an ancient pre-Hellenic people who inhabited various parts of Europe, the isles of the Mediterranean, the coast of Northern Africa, places in Asia and Asia Minor and elsewhere, a people who, according to a not entirely inappropriate

definition formed a «Pelasgian Empire»(**1**) and originated from India. That is what he writes.

Obviously these are studies which require further elaboration and proof, a thing which our interested scientific institutions must engage in with special care and persistence. In any case, they are of interest and importance to the problem which is being studied, that is, the Pelasgian problem in connection with the antiquity of our people.

I shall send Professor Konda a letter to thank him for the synopsis he sent me and to encourage him in his patriotic and scientific work.(**2**)

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1 For this definition Prof. Konda quotes the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary Elevtheroudhaki*, Athens, vol. 10, pp. 559-560 and the Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Athens, vol. 19, p. 873.

2 Prof. Konda has written two other works: *The Etruscans* and *Prehistoric Studies*.

WEDNESDAY
MAY 6, 1959

THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF A PEOPLE MUST BE SOLVED SCIENTIFICALLY

At today's meeting of the Political Bureau we examined some fundamental problems which emerged from the discussion that was held about the draft of the *History of Albania*.

I spoke, too. I praised the draft, which overall has many good points, but also has problems which require further elaboration. I gave my opinions about some of them.

> *In his contribution to the discussion, Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking about the importance of a scientific approach to the origin of a people, among other things says:*

The important problem which merits discussion is that of the origin of our people. This problem can be studied proceeding, first, from the archaeological objects which are solid facts that nobody can dodge, and second, from the lan-

guage, which, although it undergoes changes in the course of time, is one of the indicators of the origin of a people. Hence, the archaeological objects and the language supplement one another.

The problem of the most ancient peoples and cultures, including the Pelasgians, has been studied by various historians and scholars whose aim has been to discover how civilization developed in the world. In their views, they express different rivalries aiming to place certain groups of peoples above the others. In general, the view has existed that the bigger peoples, like the Chinese, the Indians, the Germans and the Slavs, predominated in the development of culture. All of them have defended the Hellenic culture and have considered it the most ancient and advanced culture which gave brilliance to the world. On the basis of these theses a barrier has been raised to the study of other peoples. However, according to those who are recognized as the most ancient Hellenic authors, amongst whom is Homer, it turns out that other, more ancient peoples existed before the Hellenes, and the Pelasgians were one of them. But there have been and are in Greece persons who want to place the origin of the Greek people even earlier.

It is a fact that Pelasgians existed, but nobody has studied this question thoroughly from the archaeological and linguistic standpoints. Our patriots and writers, such as Naim Frashëri, some German historians and others have said that our people come from the Pe-

lasgians. But documents needed to confirm this origin are still lacking. The opinions of German historians in regard to our origin from the Pelasgians we can consider progressive. It is known that they have done this not about the Albanian people only, but about other small peoples, too. As far as I have read, others have wanted to reject many of their theses, while we, proceeding from Marxism-Leninism, cannot reject the progressive ideas of very learned individuals. There are also other Germans whose theses are racist, because they present the German people as an ancient and superior people, a thesis which is deep-rooted in the French Count de Gobineau. (**1**) But Count de Gobineau also supports the thesis about the Illyrians. He says that they were a fine, heroic, war-like people, and so on, and that our origin is from them. We do not raise the question from the nationalist stand-point and say that we were the most cultured in the world, or more cultured than the Hellenes, but we say that the culture of a people is one thing and their antiquity another.

Konda (**2**) has sent us an article by a Greek writer who says that the Pelasgians contributed to the development of the Hellenic culture, etc. Our students can hardly reject this or the thesis that

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1 Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), extremist reactionary French sociologist, one of the founders of the racial theory based on the hatred of man for man.

2 Prof. Spiro Konda.

the Pelasgians are the ancestors of the Albanians solely on the grounds that others have rejected it. We do not say that Konda is original, but we are not of the opinion that these things should be rejected.

In regard to Illyrian civilization, we have facts and will discover others later. A number of discoveries have been made in our country by the Italians and the French (**3**). They set out to prove the existence of the Hellenic culture which, in fact, existed in our country, but other cultures to which they have not directed their attention existed, too. We will continue to make discoveries, because these have great importance both for our people and for history, in general. In this context, we shall also uncover the roots of the Illyrians in our country.

We must not reject the thesis that we come from the Pelasgians, but must study it further. The task of pur historians is to disclose the connection of the Pelasgians with the Illyrians and their further development. Now the question of the existence of the Albanian people as a nation is not raised as it was previously done, but the problem of our origin must be solved scientifically, that is, the theses which are built up must be explained with documents. We are not specialists, but we can express opinions. Therefore, I would propose that the thesis that we come

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3 The reference is to the archaelogical discoveries in Apollonia and Butrint before liberation.

from the Pelasgians should be studied and backed with arguments, because this problem has not been finally solved, while the question of the Illyrians as the ancestors of the Albanian people is proved; nevertheless, the connection between them, between the Pelasgians and the Illyrians, still has to be proved.

GJIROKASTRA, SATURDAY
JUNE 20, 1959

WE DESIRE TO LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL PEOPLES AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES

I visited the united cooperative of Sofratika in the zone of Lower Dropull. I spoke at the meeting organized on this occasion.

Touching on our foreign policy. I pointed out our desire to live in friendship with all peoples and, especially, the neighbouring peoples. I pointed out, also, that the Albanian people love the Greek people who are a good, hard-working people, with culture and great revolutionary traditions, but at the same time I spoke of the danger presented by the policy of government leaders of that country and those of Italy, who have agreed to the deployment of missiles on the territories of their countries.

NOT ONLY WE COMMUNISTS, WHO ARE INTERNATIONALISTS, BUT THE WHOLE ALBANIAN PEOPLE LOVE THE GREEK PEOPLE

From the speech at the meeting in the agricultural cooperative of Sofratika in Lower Dropull

JUNE 20, 1959

Dear comrades and brothers, mothers and sisters,

I am very happy to be here among you. I am happy also that the work in your cooperative is going well. This means that the unification of your three agricultural cooperatives has been carried out successfully and you have a great love for the work and life in the cooperative, a thing which has had a great influence on improving the life of your families. Naturally, this is due, first of all, to the marvellous people of this

cooperative and to the correct leadership of our Party.

After speaking of the great changes which have been made in Dropull and those which will be made in the near future in all fields of life, especially in agriculture and livestock-farming, Comrade Enver Hoxha also spoke about some questions of the relations of our country with the neighbouring countries.

We desire to live in friendship with all peoples, and especially, with the neighbouring peoples. We have been and are friends with the Yugoslav peoples, but the Yugoslav revisionist leaders, who are running things in Yugoslavia today, are enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and hence, of our Marxist-Leninist Party. Towards them we have been and are very vigilant, and in the interest of defending the victories of our people, we shall never diminish our vigilance.

Likewise, we love the Greek people, too. Not only we communists, who are internationalists, but all the Albanian people love the Greek people, who are a good, hard-working people, with culture and great revolutionary traditions. Through the centuries the Greek people have fought for their freedom and independence. They fought against the nazi-fascists, too, in order to enjoy a free and happy life. Naturally, we do not meddle in the internal affairs of the Greek people.

On the contrary, we want to live in peace with them, just as we do with the Italian people. We ask the members of the Italian and Greek governments: Why do you allow the deployment of missiles on the territories of your countries? What aims is this going to serve? Who is going to attack Greece or Italy? Not us, of course. The deployment of missiles in Italy or Greece serves only the American imperialists. But this business is greatly to the detriment of the Greek and Italian peoples, first of all. We have warned the governments of Greece and Italy that they should not deploy missiles in their respective countries. We know that the Greek and Italian people are not to blame in this matter. We see the Greek people protesting energetically against the measures which the Greek government proposes to take. Indeed, even the bourgeois parties in Greece, like that of Venizelos, for example, not to mention the EDA, are opposed to the policy of the present government, opposed to the deployment of the American missiles on Greek territory. The Greek government should not pursue a course which is to the detriment of the interests of the Greek people and all the peoples of the Balkans. We think that the Greek people will not tolerate such a thing.

We see that in Greece, where there is a great deal of talk about freedom and democracy, ardently patriotic elements who have fought heroically for the freedom of the Greek people, those who under the savage reign of terror of

German fascism, tore down Hitler's flag from the Acropolis of Athens and hoisted that of Ellas (Greece), as the hero of the Greek people, Manolis Glezos did, are in prison today, while Hitler's fascist general, Heusinger, who is responsible for grave crimes against the Greek people who hate him, goes to Athens today and receives a ceremonial welcome from the Greek monarcho-fascist circles. The policy of the Greek government seems very astonishing to us. It is striving in every way to hinder the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with our country, while with those who attacked Greece and shed the blood of the fraternal Greek people during the Second World War, the successors to Mussolini's regime, the leaders of Greece have established close friendship.

Of course, such an unfriendly policy towards our people is a consequence of the American influence amongst certain circles of the leadership of the Greek state. We can tell you that the representatives of our government at the United Nations Organization have maintained contacts with the representatives of the Greek government at that organization. These have said that the stand adopted by certain Greek leading circles towards Albania has no basis. Of course, this is not a correct stand on the part of those circles and we are confident that the Greek people will correct this abnormal situation between our countries.

I am very happy to see the love which you

express for the Party and our people's state power. In you the Party has a loyal and hard-working people, like all the rest of our people, a people with great confidence in the happy future and socialism. Brothers and sisters, our Party is always with you; it loves you just as it loves the whole Albanian people, without any difference. And if there is some evil tongue that speaks against this love, no one takes any notice of it. The wind will blow away its words just as it has blown away the hopes of those who remain fugitives far from the Homeland. They learned in the past that Albania was difficult to attack and that our people's regime is unshakeable. Now these inveterate enemies themselves say: «It's all over for us, let us do our best to find a job somewhere to keep body and soul together, because we can never go back to Albania.»

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 9, 1959

FREE SOCIALIST ALBANIA WAS FOUNDED ON THE BLOOD WE SHED TOGETHER

These days, the cooperativists of Bodrishta, Upper Dropull, sent me a letter in which they invited me to take part in the celebrations which they will hold on November 13, 1959, on the occasion of the ceremony of the inauguration of the monument dedicated to three martyrs of the village and the 4th anniversary of the creation of their agricultural cooperative. Since it was impossible for me to take part, because of the work which I have, I will send them a letter of greetings and congratulations.

Text of the letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to the members of the agricultural cooperative of Bodrishta:

To the members of the «Three Martyrs» agricultural cooperative of Bodrishta, Upper Dropull.

Dear Comrades,

I was very pleased to receive the invitation you sent me to take part in the ceremony of the inauguration of the monument dedicated to three martyrs of your village and the 4th anniversary of the setting up of your agricultural cooperative and I thank you wholeheartedly for this invitation.

In the past, your village, like the whole minority region of Dropull, together with all our working people, suffered every kind of misery under the rule of local landowners, beys and aghas, frequently suffering even from lack of food. For this reason some of your fellow villagers were obliged to emigrate abroad, leaving their parents, wives and children behind, in the hope that in this way they could ensure a livelihood for their families. That is why in the years of the war for the liberation of the Homeland, your village, too, responded to the call of the Party and rose arms in hand to liberate itself once and for all from the foreign occupiers and internal oppressors.

Through the blood of thousands and thousands of martyrs which our people gave in this sacred war, including the martyrs of your village, free, socialist Albania was founded and life was improved for the working people who are now successfully building the new socialist life.

It rejoices us greatly that work is going well in your cooperative, that you have honour-

ably fulfilled the commitments you made in honour of the 15th anniversary of Liberation and that your life is improving from day to day. I am sure that these successes will encourage you to struggle even more resolutely for still greater successes to make your life as beautiful and prosperous as possible, in this way realizing the aim for which the martyrs of freedom shed their blood.

Since it is impossible for me to take part in the ceremony of the inauguration of the monument, I send all the members of your cooperative, all the people of your village, my warmest congratulations and wish you new successes in the work of the cooperative so that you harvest the maximum agricultural and livestock products, improve your material well-being and raise your cultural level day by day, and always accomplish with honour the tasks which are laid down by the Party and the state, for your good and the good of the whole of our heroic and industrious people.

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, November 11, 1959

WEDNESDAY
MAY 11, 1960

DECLARATIONS HARMFUL TO OUR COUNTRY BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS

I summoned the Soviet ambassador, Ivanov, to a meeting and told him that I protested about and rejected the views expressed by the Soviet ambassador in Athens, Sergeyev, according to whom, in order to improve its relations with Greece, our country ought to raise at UNO, or in the International Court at the Hague, the question of why Greece says that it is «in a state of war» with Albania and «why it has territorial claims» against our country. I told Ivanov that such views of ambassador Sergeyev are suspect and unjust, because they encourage Greek reaction to begin to make a fuss about these questions.

In order to get out of his predicament, Ivanov, of course, replied, as he always does, that he knew nothing about it and that he would transmit our protest to his leadership.

FRIDAY
JULY 8, I960

WE ALLOW NO ONE, WHOEVER HE MAY BE, TO DISCUSS THE BORDERS OF OUR COUNTRY

I received the Soviet ambassador, Ivanov, who informed me about the talk which Khrushchev had with Sophocles Venizelos. During this talk the latter had proposed to Khrushchev that, in order to improve relations with Albania, the Greek minority of Albania should be given autonomy. Khrushchev had replied to Venizelos, saying among other things that he would transmit his desire and proposal to «the Albanian comrades», because he was going to meet them in Bucharest, etc.

I told Ivanov that I oppose the stand which Krushchev took, that I do not agree at all with the reply that he gave Venizelos, and consider it as a reply not of a friend of Albania, and not at all appropriate for the high post which Khrushchev holds. We resolutely and indignantly reject the proposal of Venizelos. We do not know this Venizelos, I told ambassador Ivanov, but we

Joyful meeting.
From Comrade Enver Hoxha's visit to Dervician (October 1963).

«The Tzar of Russia, the Bulgarians and the Serbs betrayed the Greek revolution of 1821, while the Albanians with Marko Boçari and Xhavella from Sul fought to the end shoulder to shoulder with their Greek brothers.»

Tableau by the painter of the Albanian National Renaissance, Spiro Xega, entitled: «The greatest assault of the Suliots on the bridge of the fortress outside Mesolongion.» Marko Boçari leading the insurgent masses.

«The Greek minority and the Albanian people have always been linked as closely as flesh to bone, at all times they have loved and supported one another.» (Tableau by the minority painters Theodori Rajdho and Jani Guxo: «Toast to brotherhood». Hero of the people, Çerçiz Topulli, with his çeta at a wedding in Dropull).

Partisans from the "Thanas Ziko" battalion of the minority people.

Albanian, minority and Greek partisans at Poliçan of Pogon (December 1943).

In the home of the Hero of the People, Theodhori Mastora, a communist from the minority people.

Goranxi, 1956.

Bodrishta, 1959.

«In you the Party has a people loyal and hard- working, like all our people, a people with great faith in the future, in socialism.» Sofratika (June 1959).

From the inauguration ceremony of the first water-supply system in Dropull (1950).

View from the work to eliminate the damage of the earthquake in the minority villages of Dhivra, Cerkovica, Shëndre and Memoraq (November-December 1975).

are well acquainted with his father. (**1**) In case Moscow does not know him, although it ought to, we can tell them that he put villages and regions of Southern Albania to the torch and killed thousands of Albanians, wanted to burn the town of Gjirokastra as well, organized his gangs and is the one who long ago launched the idea of the autonomy of «Vorio Epirus». (**2**)

We allow no one, not even Khrushchev, to discuss the borders of our country!

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1 The reference is to Elevtherios Venizelos who in 1919 sent the Greek army to take part in the intervention against Soviet Russia.

2 Dealing with this question in the Plenum of the CC of the PLA (July 1960) Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «...The idea of Venizelos junior is an old one, the idea of all Greek chauvinists. In order to defend the territorial integrity of their country against this idea, the Albanian people have shed blood in the past and, if need be, will shed blood again in the future. We are for peace in the Balkans, we are for normal state and commercial relations with Greece, but such conditions we do not accept.» (Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 19, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1975, p. 55, Alb. ed.)

WE HAVE MADE NUMEROUS EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH GREECE

FEBRUARY 13, 1961

The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana from 13-20 February 1961. In the report delivered to the Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also about the desire and the initiatives taken by the People's Republic of Albania for the normalization of relations with Greece.

We have made numerous efforts to normalize our relations with Greece, have taken unilateral initiatives and have given the Greek government adequate opportunities to respond to our readiness and goodwill. We have done this over the repatriation of Greek citizens given refuge in Albania, over clearing the Corfu Channel, through our proposals for the normalization of the situa-

tion on the border, for trade exchanges, and so on. But the leaders of the Greek government have continued their course of provocations on the border, of crazy campaigns about the so-called state of war between our two countries, of their absurd claims to Southern Albania, and of plots against the territorial integrity of our Homeland. Naturally, they have received the replies they deserved from our side and will always do so. While always maintaining high vigilance, in the future too, we shall continue our policy towards the normalization of relations with Greece, but, of course, this normalization depends very greatly on the Greek government which must give up its hostile activities against the People's Republic of Albania immediately.

We have great love and respect for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece and we desire and will work ceaselessly to ensure that this sincere friendship which we feel for those fraternal neighbouring peoples is strengthened.

The vital interests of the peoples of this zone present the socialist and non-socialist countries with the urgent need for the co-ordination of their joint efforts to ensure the peace and collaboration between states on the basis of the principles of non-interference, equality and mutual interest. We are sincerely for the policy of good neighbourliness, because we are convinced that such a policy responds to the interests both of Albania and of the neighbouring countries.

THURSDAY
APRIL 27, 1961

THE FRAUD OF «BALKAN UNDERSTANDING»

We did not take part in the meeting which was held in Athens about «Balkan understanding», because the Greeks did not give our delegation an entry visa, while the Yugoslavs have undoubtedly influenced the Greeks so that we were «left out». The Rumanians and the Bulgarians twisted. They did not keep the promise they made that they would not go if the Greeks did not give us visas. Indeed, they did not even inform us about what was done or said there. It is obvious that the usual slanders against us have been made there. Our «friends», of course, kept their mouths shut, but they exposed themselves with this stand. The communiqué which was issued was wishy-washy, without the slightest value.

GJIROKASTRA, TUESDAY
NOVEMBER 14, 1961

BIG RALLY OF THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

A big rally of the people of Gjirokastra in Çerçiz Topulli Square. In the speech which I delivered, after greeting the heroic people of Gjirokastra on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the government, I thanked them for the love which they show for the Party of Labour, without which our people would be living enslaved in heavy bondage and in misery to this day, and our Homeland would not be free and independent. Speaking about the glorious past of our people, I mentioned the wars waged through many years by our forebears who shed their blood in torrents in order to defend their honour, to live free and independent, for their land and livelihood.

I went on to point out the great transformations which have been made in our country during these 17 years of our Liberation.

Finally, I spoke about some problems of the present international situation, about the correct

and principled policy which our country pursues in the struggle against American imperialism, about Khrushchev's concessions to and opportunist views about the chiefs of international imperialism, about his anti-Albanian actions, about our goodwill for relations with the neighbouring countries, such as Yugoslavia and Greece, without ever abandoning our political and ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, or our defence of the rights of our brothers in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and our exposure and condemnation of the pretensions of Venizelos and Zographos to carve up Albania.

WE WANT TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH GREECE

From the speech delivered at the rally of the people of Gjirokaslra district.

NOVEMBER 14, 1961

We are faithfully pursuing the line of peaceful coexistence, but the coexistence which Lenin and Stalin have taught us, not that of the revisionist Khrushchev. We want to have good relations with the Yugoslav government, but we shall never cease exposing the pro-American policy and anti-Marxist stands of the Titoite clique. We conduct trade with Yugoslavia and we want to continue this trade. Likewise, we want to have good relations with Greece, too, irrespective of what regime exists in that country.

However, N. Khrushchev understands these matters differently. He understands our coexistence with Greece and Yugoslavia differently. He wants us to cease the political and ideological

struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists immediately. N. Khrushchev's concept of our coexistence with Greece is that we should give it the right to gobble up Korça and Gjirokastra, to which Greek reaction has long had pretensions. This is an old dream. Especially after the Proclamation of Independence of Albania in 1912, in the spring of 1914, the reactionary government of E. Venizelos proclaimed the so-called autonomy of Vorio Epirus under the bayonets of the Greek chauvinist army, as the first step in the annexation of Southern Albania. But let the Greek chauvinists, Khrushchev and the other enemies understand thoroughly that those times when the territories of Albania were a token for barter have gone once and for all, that Korça and Gjirokastra have been, are, and will be Albanian territory, that the Albanian people have shed blood to defend the territorial integrity of their country in the past and, if need be, will shed it in the future, too.

All of you know what «the autonomy of Vorio Epirus» was. Like many of you, I was young at the time of that «autonomy», but our fathers and grandfathers are well aware of what was hidden behind it. The aim of the «autonomy» of Southern Albania, long advocated and put into practice by Elevtherios Venizelos and Zographos, was the partitioning of Albania. Albanian villages were razed, old men, women and children were slaughtered by the men of Zographos in the period of «autonomy». Now Sophocles Venizelos,

the son of Elevtherios, has gone to Moscow and told N. Khrushchev that, «We will reach agreement with Albania if we also talk about the question of 'Northern Epirus', the problem of which must be solved in the form of autonomy» (**1**). He discussed this dead issue with Khrushchev because he is well aware of what the latter si up to. Although he is first secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Khrushchev, who poses as a Marxist and an ally of Albania, tells Sophocles that, «You must solve these problems peacefully, but I shall tell the Albanian comrades of this view», and with the greatest shamelessness he informs us about this conversation. The Central Committee of our Party gave Khrushchev a stern reply, telling him that what he had discussed with Venizelos was not in the least Marxist, that the borders of Albania are inviolable and that there is not an inch of foreign soil in Albania. Hence, we rejected the talk which he had with Venizelos and told him that when this reactionary raised his pretensions to Southern Albania, instead of talking with him, he should have put him in his place.

N. Khrushchev does not like our stand, but that does not worry us. The line of our Party is, first of all, to the liking of our people who defend their Homeland, its sacred borders and its freedom and independence. This is Marxist and not at all nationalist or chauvinist. Our Party has

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1 During this conversation, amongst other things, Khrushchev told Sophocles Venizelos that he had seen Greeks and

never displayed chauvinist sentiments. A population nearly equal to that in Albania lives in Kosova, Metohia, Macedonia and Montenegro. This population has suffered every kind of torture and massacre from the krals of Serbia. And to this day it is suffering in the same way at the hands of the new krals of Yugoslavia. To defend your homeland and people is completely Marxist. Therefore, time after time, our Party has raised its voice in defence of the rights of our brothers in Yugoslavia, but it has never nurtured chauvinist sentiments.

The revisionists make the accusation that we do not want to coexist with the neighbouring Balkan peoples. This is a slander. How could we, a small country, not wish to live in peace and good relations with our neighbours? But with whom are we to coexist? The Greek government continues to declare that it is in a «state of war» with Albania, that it demands Korça and Gjirokastra, and it carries out repeated provocations on our borders. Then, who does not wish to coexist?!...

Albanians working together like brothers in Korça, although there is no Greek minority in Korça at all.

Addressing Khrushchev at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow (November 1960), Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out on this question: «We are not opposed to your playing politics with Sophocles Venizelos, but you must not play politics with our borders and rights, because we have not permitted and are not going to permit this. And for this we are not nationalists, but internationalists.» (*Works*, vol. 19. «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1975, pp. 452-453, Alb. ed.)

SARANDA, FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 17, 1961

THE MINORITY IN OUR COUNTRY STANDS IN SOUND POSITIONS

When I spoke today at the meeting of the Bureau of the Party Committee of the Saranda district I dwelt on some problems of the present international situation and the development of relations between our country, the Soviet Union, and other countries of people's democracy.

I pointed out to those present that we will have problems with the revisionist groups in the communist and workers' parties just as we will have with the enemies round about us. We know that while N. Khrushchev is speaking against us and openly calling on the Albanian people to rise up against their own government, the Titoites are operating actively and with cunning methods against our country. The same is occurring with the Greek monarcho-fascists, too.

The Greek chauvinists, according to their own logic, think that they have the minority to do hostile work against our country. This is a

reactionary, chauvinist judgement, because the reality is completely different. The Greek national minority in Albania stands firm in sound positions; it is closely linked with the Albanian people, and this is so not only now, in the order of people's democracy, but as early as the First World War when the armies of Venizelos occupied Korça and Gjirokastra, in the time of Zog, in the time of the Greek occupation of Southern Albania in 1940, and during the National Liberation War. It is a historical fact that even in those troubled times the Greek minority did not fall into the positions of the Greek chauvinists. I am speaking of the people and not of the merchants and reactionary chiefs like the Vasil Shahinis. The masses have never taken the stand of Greek chauvinism. When the Greeks entered Southern Albania the members of the minority could very easily have turned their backs on the Albanians, but instead of that, although they were going short themselves, they shared their food with the Albanians and even took it to them in Gjirokastra. This is a fact. Now the reactionary Greek propaganda and press is trying to divide the Greek minority from the Albanian people.

SARANDA. SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 18, 1961

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE POLICY OF COEXISTENCE IN GREECE

At the meeting which was held today with the people of the Saranda district I spoke about the great prospects which are opening to our country and the district of Saranda for the future, as well as about some questions of the present international situation; about the anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary, conspiratorial activity in which the Soviet revisionists are involved together with American imperialism, about their slanders and plots against our country and about the resolute and uncompromising struggle which our Party has waged and will continue to wage against the modern revisionists, etc.

While sternly denouncing the Khrushchevite police of coexistence with the capitalist countries, I pointed out in my speech that N. Khrushchev preaches that we must coexist with the capitalist countries, but his completely wrong understanding of coexistence is that the working class and the exploited in the capitalist countries should

not go on strike, should not fight the capitalists of their countries, but make peace with them and try to take power by means of votes. Thus, according to Khrushchev, by means of votes the proletariat will send its representatives to parliament, will win the majority of seats there and make its own laws. From this it turns out that one fine morning the bourgeoisie will voluntarily hand over its power to the proletariat! However, this view is very harmful because it lulls the peoples to sleep and the working class, too. That is what the opportunist policy of N. Khrushchev leads to.

For example, let us take the EDA party in Greece. It is known that it is a progressive party. The Greek communists and patriots had managed to have 75 deputies in the Greek Parliament. But precisely at the time when N. Khrushchev proclaimed his revisionist thesis, the Greek government tightened the screws further and brought out a law which imposed even more restrictions on the possibility of the representation of the democratic strata of the population in parliament. Thus, after the recent elections which were held in Greece, the EDA party now has only 20 deputies instead of the 75 which it had, and the hero of the Greek people, Manolis Glezos, whom the people elected, is still languishing in the Corfu prison, although he got more votes than any other deputy. This shows that the monarcho-fascist circles are not in the least concerned about the will of the people.

WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 3, 1962

THE GREEKS MAKE PROPOSALS TO US

On the occasion of the handing over at Kakavia of some Greek emigrants who wanted to return to their own country, the Greek delegation was very well-behaved and friendly and wanted to talk about the establishment of diplomatic relations, too. Of course they were just sounding us out. Our people told them that they were not authorized to discuss this matter, therefore, «if you wish address yourselves to our government through diplomatic channels». Later the Greeks proposed to our side that «an official Greek delegation should come to Tirana to talk about the repatriation of other emigrants and also about diplomatic relations». We notified our comrades to tell them that we had no objection and to let the delegation come.

Yesterday Halim Budo, the representative of our country at UNO, was invited to lunch by his Greek counterpart, the representative of Greece at that organization.

TUESDAY

MAY 22, 1962

POSITIVE DECLARATIONS BY STAMATIS MERCURIS ABOUT OUR COUNTRY

Stamatis Mercuris,(**1**)who came here on a friendly visit, made contact with the country and our people and spoke very well. He expressed his great surprise over the progress of Albania. As he said, he was a senior officer in the Greek army at the time of the Italo-Greek War, saw Albania at that time, and had read and heard many bad things about us from our enemies. That is why he said: «I was astonished.»

Of course, under the label of «Balkan understandings» Mercuris has been charged by the Greek government to sound us out about establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries. He showed himself to be in favour of this. Our side, too, expressed its willingness, while at the same time pointing out that we scornfully reject the claims of certain Greek circles, which Mercuris himself described as absurd.

1 At that time head of the Greek Movement for Balkan Understanding.

JANUARY 1964

THE REVISIONISTS SUPPORT THE ANTI-ALBANIAN PRETENTIONS OF VENIZELOS

During the parliamentary election campaign organized in Greece, Sophocles Venizelos, several times on end and in a provocative manner, has raised the so-called problem of Vorio Epirus. In an interview which Venizelos gave to the correspondent of the neswpaper *To Vima*, on the 17th of December 1963, he once again put forward demands for territorial and political concessions from our country, saying that, «We would easily reach an agreement with Albania provided that country agreed to grant administrative autonomy to the Greek minority in Southern Albania.»

The anti-Albanian statements made by this rabid monarcho-fascist and the stands he has taken have found backing up and support among the various revisionists, too. Everyone knows about the conversations which Venizelos held with the revisionist Khrushchev about the Greek minority in Albania and the assurance which Khrushchev gave him that he would transmit to the «Albanian comrades» his chauvinist opinions and pretensions from the positions of the «megali idhea». Greetings addressed to the Greek «allies» have not been lacking in the Soviet press recently.

The official propaganda organs of the Yugoslav revisionists have not lagged behind in this work, either. Thus, for example, the TANJUG agency not only retransmitted the interview which Sophocles Venizelos gave the correspondent of the newspaper *To Vima*, but it went even further. To his demand for «administrative autonomy for the Greek minority in Southern Albania», it put an additional phrase «under the jurisdiction of Greece». This is not accidental and with this the Yugoslav leadership once again prove that they are for the partitioning of Albania. With this the Yugoslavs were aiming at Venizelos himself (who did not display in full the secret agreement and alliance between the Titoites and the Greek monarcho-fascist reaction on the partitioning of Al-

bania), and criticizing him over this matter, by putting the dot over the «i».

The stand of the Titoites has long been clear to us, but they have admitted it once again through their own mouthpiece.

The Bulgarian press also had its say on this issue. But, of course, the opinion of organs of the Bulgarian press does not represent the opinion either of Bulgarian communists or the fraternal Bulgarian people. It represents the opinion of the conductor, as has become customary there. Of course, Khrushchev's own press could not speak on this question, therefore the Bulgarian press spoke for him this time. It tried to correct TANJUG and to express the «correctness» of Mr. Venizelos. However, in its efforts to put Khrushchev's stand and his agreement with Venizelos «correctly» and at the same time to satisfy the Titoites, too, the Bulgarian press with «rare wisdom» also added something of its own. It said, and I quote verbatim, that autonomy should be given to Southern Albania just as the Yugoslavs have done for the Albanians of Kosova.

But the Bulgarian press completely forgets that between our two peoples and countries there is a treaty of alliance and it is known why that treaty was signed, while it finds Venizelos' claim very normal and correct. Besides this, the Bulgarian press also gives Albania advice on how it ought to solve this internal «problem», which is no problem at all, but which the greedy imperialists

and revisionists want to make a problem. On this occasion, we remind the Bulgarian press and all those who have urged it to express this opinion as follows:

1. Yugoslavia has «solved» the problem of the Albanians of Yugoslavia with killings, with genocide, with forced removals, expulsions, etc.

2. We have not meddled and do not meddle in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, but we are obliged to put the question to the Bulgarian revisionists and their press: Before giving us this advice and this «brilliant» opinion of yours, based on the «Yugoslav experience», why do you not demand that it should be applied to the Turkish minority in Bulgaria? Will you, who hastened to give prominence to the «idea» of Venizelos and his «wise» proposal, put our view in the pages of your newspapers so that the fraternal Bulgarian people can learn of it?

We have no hopes that such a thing will be done, because that press and those persons in Bulgaria who supported the anti-Albanian statements of Venizelos and have also done other things against our country, are Bulgarian only in name and have nothing in common with the brave, loyal, allied Bulgarian people.

MONDAY
JANUARY 24, 1966

THE TRAGEDY OF THE GREEK COMMUNISTS IN EXILE IN THE REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

I am continually receiving letters, petitions, statements and resolutions from the Greek comrades in exile in the revisionist countries and always my heart aches for them; I feel an indescribably great grief for those heroic comrades who fought with unrivalled bravery against fascism, against the monarchists, against the British and the Americans. We assisted them wholeheartedly; we shared our food with them at a time when we were hungry ourselves, endangered the borders of our Homeland which were attacked with large monarcho-fascist forces (**1**), we fought there and did not give up an inch of our territory; some of our men were killed there, but we saved

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1. This occurred in August 1949, when the Greek monarcho-fascists committed a series of armed provocations on the southern borders of our country. These provocations were part of the plot hatched up by the Anglo-American imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania.

all our comrades and brothers, the Greek Democratic Army, the heroic Greek partisans and took them into our own homes. I personally took part in that delicate and painful operation. The Greek comrades who, fought valiantly, wept bitterly over their defeat and wanted to go back to fight, but this was impossible. After what had happened they were deeply moved by the warm welcome of our Party and people. We did our internationalist duty, helped them to take courage and to strengthen themselves spiritually. We discussed the situation with Stalin, indeed in the talk with him and Molotov, at which Zahariadhis and Partsalidhis were present, I presented our views about the war of the Greek partisans and openly stated my views about certain mistakes of the Greek leaders, views which Stalin considered correct, and we left that meeting as comrades-in-arms.

We parted sadly with our Greek brothers, our heroic comrades, the Greek partisans, when they left for the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to which they wanted to go. in the firm belief that wherever they were going they would be as they were in Albania, with the only difference that their homeland would not be so close as it was when they were in our country. And in fact this is what occurred as long as Stalin was alive. Wherever they went they were settled, placed in jobs, organized, went to military schools, to vocational schools, party schools, and so on. They organized their party and ana-

lysed the war with its victories, mistakes and defeats.

After the death of Stalin, the great tragedy of the Greek comrades began, a tragedy which has not yet ended.

The Khrushchevite revisionists are the executioners of the Greek comrades. They are responsible before world opinion and the Greek Communist Party for all those terrible things which are being done to the heroes of martyred Greece.

Not even the monarchists within Greece have done the things which the Khrushchevites are doing to the Greek comrades in the Soviet Union. This is the whole tragic history, full of pain, of the liquidation of the Greek Communist Party, of its leaders, of physical liquidations, internments, beatings, hideous murders, which cannot even be summarized here, because it would take whole volumes.

But the voice of heroes, of our Greek comrades who are languishing in internment, breaks through the ice and the borders and reaches our Party, the Party which they have boundless trust in and indescribable love for. They seek our help, because they have trust only in us. From the gloom of exile they listen to Radio Tirana, they even want to hear the songs of our people, because they remind them of the great love and loyalty of the «Arvanites» and their Marxist-Leninist Party.

Greek comrades and brothers, who are suf-

fering at the hands of the modern revisionists, how I grieve for you now, because you are suffering greatly!

Greek comrades, because of the political circumstances, with our country encircled by enemies and the Greek monarcho-fascists among them, we have not helped you as much as we should have done, especially those of you in exile. We are deeply aware of this shortcoming, and this hurts us. But we shall do everything possible to perform this duty. I gave instructions to comrades to work on a series of materials, to find ways and means to ensure that world opinion and communist opinion learns the truth about you, about your cause, your heroic struggle and the savage hostility of the modern revisionists towards you.

Dear comrades, stand strong as steel, as you stood in the storms in the mountains of heroic, martyred Greece. Stand unflinching as rock against the betrayal of the Soviet and other revisionists. Struggle, close your ranks against enemies, prepare yourselves for the great struggle against imperialism, let the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin guide and inspire you in the coming battles. Throughout the ancient history of our two peoples, which is full of wars, we Albanians have always stood beside you and have fought together with you for freedom. And now, too, we will be beside you, beside the Greek working people

FRIDAY
MARCH 25, 1966

REQUEST FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH US

The Greek government, through its ambassador in Rumania, has sought the establishment of diplomatic relations with our country.

SUNDAY
MARCH 27, 1966

IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GREECE

We notified Comrade Halim Budo, who is in New York, to follow up the proposal of the Greek government about the establishment of diplomatic relations with our country.

FRIDAY
APRIL 28, 1967

GREEK REACTION IS ASSUMING POWER

The monarcho-fascist dictatorship has been restored in Greece. The power of the fascist generals, which has the Glücksburg (**1**) king at the head and the support of American imperialism, is re-establishing the terror in Greece, is filling the terrible interment camps on the islands with people, the same camps where the communists and the soldiers of ELAS and the Greek Democratic Army were tortured and killed for years on end.

The Greek fascists took power by means of force because the game of «democratic» elections endangered the monarchy and the immediate interests of American imperialism. The latter makes the law in Greece and has turned it into its main base in the Mediterranean from which it supervises and supports its own diversionist activity and threatens all the peoples of the Mediterra-

1 Prussian royal house, from which Constantine, ex-king of Greece, came.

nean basin who do not obey it. Greece is considered by the United States of America as the southern gateway to Europe and America is trying to keep it under its iron heel.

Even the allies of America in NATO, such as Turkey, Italy, etc., are displaying no liking at all for what is occurring in Greece because the chauvinist Greek monarchists will start to pursue ideas of Greater Greece against Turkey and against the Italian influence in the Mediterranean. Of course, the Italians want to maintain the alliance of the «centre» left in which socialists of Nenni and Saragat cannot readily accept that the neofascists in Italy, inspired by the Greek monarcho-fascists and encouraged by their coup, should take power, so the Moro government is displaying displeasure at the events in Greece.

The Italian government thinks that the Greek monarcho-fascists will attack Albania as Mussolini did in 1939 and thus the interests of the Italian big bourgeoisie are placed in jeopardy. Here there is a real contradiction between Italian government circles and the Greek monarcho-fascists, on the one hand, and the Yugoslav Titoites on the other.

However, we count on our own strength, our own organization and determination to defend every inch of our socialist Homeland. What is occurring in Greece does not frighten us at all, but we do not underestimate the danger in any way, that is why we have taken all the necessary measures.

For the time being there is nothing to be alarmed at, because at these moments the monarcho-fascists are not sure of themselves, and are concerned to consolidate their positions internally. Later they may recommence their provocations against us, but they will always receive a lightening reply from us which will destroy any plan they hatch up and spoil their appetite.

At the moment the monarchists are making mass arrests of communists and democrats. News agencies say that more than 10 thousand people have been arrested, including Manolis Glezos, about whom there are reports today that he has been condemned to death. If this is so, we must protest, because Glezos is known as a fighter against nazi-fascism. I know him personally.

There is no end to the treachery of the Soviet revisionists. They interned and tortured fine Greek communists and advised their comrades and the Greek emigrants to return legally to Greece. Now the *Asphalia* has arrested all those who went back and will kill and torture them, repeating the terrible tragedy of Macronisos.(**2**)

However, all the revisionists and the Titoites

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2 At the end of August 1950 the Venizelos government, which came to office with the aid of the American imperialists, launched a savage terror against the people. More than 37 thousand patriots who fought against fascist oppression and the Anglo-American intervention were interned to the death camps on the islands of Macronisos, Ageos-Evstratios. Trikeri. etc.

are worried because what is occurring in Greece demonstrates the failure of their policy of alliances, coexistence, «friendly» relations, and so on.

The contradictions between imperialist powers will increase and become sharper.

American imperialism is adding to its evil deeds. Fascist dictatorships have been established in several countries of Europe.

The modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, have been intimidated and have turned into lackeys of American imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie in Europe. They are begging for their peaceful coexistence, but this treacherous coexistence is being turned into defeat, just as our Party foresaw.

However, we will always be very vigilant and cool-headed; we must always keep our powder dry, march boldly ahead on our revolutionary road, strengthen our socialist Homeland, and ruthlessly expose the imperialists and revisionists. The enemies can do nothing to harm us. If they attack us they will meet their death. They know well the determination of the Albanian communists and of the heroic Albanian people.

SATURDAY
JUNE 17, 1967

THE GUN-BOAT POLICY OF THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET NAVAL FLEETS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

*Addition to the speech (**1**) which our representative will deliver at this year's session of the UNO*

The government of the People's Republic of Albania presents the issue and asks the Assembly of the United Nations a question: why has the American war fleet come to prowl like an ogre around the Mediterranean, this region of peoples with an ancient civilization? What does it want in the Mediterranean and what is it doing there? Whom is it defending and from whom? What is the present Soviet revisionist leadership after in the Mediterranean, where it has part of

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1 This speech was held at the Special Session of the General Assembly of UNO on June 26, 1967 and published in the newspaper *Zëri i popullit* on June 28, 1967.

its naval fleet deployed at this moment? What is it, too, doing there? Whom is it seeking to defend and from whom?

The imperialist and revisionist governments do not hesitate to describe both these naval fleets as «fleets of peace», «for the defence and security of the peoples», etc., etc. We can assert without the slightest error that, on the contrary, these fleets are sowing war, threatening the free, sovereign peoples and applying the gun-boat policy to suppress the freedom of the peoples, to divide the spheres of influence and to share the booty which results from every plot which they hatch up to the detriment of other peoples.

We can assert, likewise, that the alliance between the Americans and the Soviets is so clear that if there were women on board their warships they would organize balls on the decks every night, at a time when the peoples throughout the world are fighting for freedom and their sons are dying on the battlefields.

We ask the question: which are the states of the Mediterranean basin that are threatening Italy, Greece, France, Spain and so on? Moreover, some of the latter are linked with the NATO alliance. Can it be that Algeria, Albania, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, or Lebanon is threatening those countries? Ancient and very recent history provides the answer to who has been the victim and who the aggressor.

We ask a further question: Does not France have a fleet adequate to defend its own shores,

and Spain, Italy, Greece and so on, likewise? Of course, they have, indeed, very much more than they need.

Then, what is the American 6th Fleet doing in the Mediterranean? It is there as a watch-dog for aggression and to back up aggression and war.

No, American imperialists, you will not deceive any people or any honest government, which defends the interests of its own homeland and people, with your phoney olive branch, with your blood-stained demagogy.

Perhaps, you will say that you are defending yourselves against the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, but you are close friends and allies with the present leaders of that country.

You know full well that the so-called aid of the Soviet revisionist leaders for the peoples of the Mediterranean basin is a great hoax. It is fair to say that the Soviet revisionist imperialists have the same aims as you towards the peoples of the world, and, particularly, towards the freedom-loving peoples of Albania and the Arab countries, and it is quite clear that you are fighting to suppress us and to put us in thrall. But you will not achieve this aim. Our peoples will defeat you. You are terribly afraid of your own peoples, that is why you have these weapons and these fleets to protect yourselves also from your own peoples who, together with us, will one day exact a fully deserved retribution from you.

We must make it publicly clear to you, Amer-

ican imperialists and Soviet revisionists, that you are unable to intimidate anybody, least of all those peoples who have shed their blood through the centuries in order to live free, and who, to this day, are determined to triumph again or to die fighting. One of these heroic and indomitable peoples has been and is the Albanian people. At no time will you catch us unawares. Not only have you never caught us unawares and never will, but neither has the treachery of Khrushchev or his lieutenants taken us by surprise.

The bandit Nikita Khrushchev, together with his associates, tried to strangle the new socialist Albania. He hatched up plots, together with the 6th Fleet and the Greek Venizelos, to partition Albania, he tried to occupy the port of Vlora, he stole our submarines, and in the end even broke off diplomatic relations and established his savage blockade against new Albania.

The Albanian people, their Party and government, struck him such a terrible blow that it put him in his grave.

Anyone, whoever he may be, who dares to attack Albania, on his own or with accomplices, will suffer the same fate. Albania knows how to defend itself, knows how to fight and win. The sacred borders and ports of our Homeland are inviolable, they belong to us and to no one else. Whoever tries to lay hands on them will meet his death.

You should not think, either, Messrs. American imperialists, that Albania is isolated and alone.

If the borders of Albania are touched a major conflict will ensue. And you, too, Messrs. Soviet revisionists, who from Radio Moscow drop hints and make appeals to Albania for unity with you in face of the imperialist threat, we tell you that we reject this friendship of yours with disgust, because we know from experience how you tried to stab us in the back. The Arab peoples and other peoples, also, have bitter experience of this so-called friendship.

Nevertheless, we have solemnly declared and we repeat that we are loyal friends for ever with the fraternal Soviet peoples. They have never betrayed and never will betray any people, let alone the Albanian people whom they love and respect. The Soviet peoples will condemn you mercilessly and irrevocably.

The imperialist powers that hear the delegate of a small but indomitable people speaking here openly, fearlessly, without kid-gloves and not in carefully chosen diplomatic terms, declare that this is a hard-line speech and that the Albanian delegate is preaching in the desert.

I am not threatening anyone with atomic bombs, with napalm, or with naval fleets.

Likewise, gentlemen, I am not preaching in the desert. It is you who are isolated, not we. We are the majority here, we are the overwhelming majority in the world. We are those who smashed Italian and German fascism, we are the immortal heroes of Vietnam, Algeria, the Congo, Cuba, Latin America, China and Pakis-

tan, the heroes of the Arab peoples, of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the heroes of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the whole world.

Therefore, we will triumph over you, you will never defeat us.

WEDNESDAY
AUGUST 2, 1967

THE «BARKING» OF THE GREEK MONARCHO-FASCISTS AND THE «CONCERN» OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS

As has always been their custom, the Greek monarcho-fascists are barking again about «Vorio Epirus». We have heard even louder barking but, faced with the dauntless resistance of socialist Albania, the dogs have slunk away with their tails between their legs. The Greek fascists have tested our strength, let them test it again if they want to. They will certainly meet their death. We have taken all the necessary measures. The enemy has never caught us unawares and never will do so. We know that the fascists might undertake adventures at any time, but, of course, not without making their own calculations. The calculations about such an adventure are not favourable to the Greek fascists in their present circumstances. Within the country they are far from having stabilized the situation. They are on the verge of the crisis, the people

are against them and are on the move. The prisons and the internment islands are full. All the bourgeois parties have been broken up by the fascist clique, but this does not mean that they have been eliminated. The monarcho-fascist army itself is in chaos, thousands of cadres have been arrested, etc., etc. Within Greece *le torchon brule** and it will be hard for them and their patrons to undertake an adventure against our country, at least until they settle the internal situation.

Their claims against Albania are a permanent leitmotive of theirs, a political broth which they serve up to internal opinion to get out of the crises, to win the elections, to incite anti-communism, etc., but from the words to the deeds there is a long road full of dangers and bloodshed, which has to be got over and they are quite unable to do so.

But even «lovelier» on this question is the «clever policy» of the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists.

The Soviet revisionists and all their satellites, organized in a chorus, tried to frighten us: «Alarm! The Greek fascists are going to attack Albania», «The Soviet government has inside information that it has been decided by the Americans and the Greeks that, after the attack by Israel [on the Arab countries], the Greek

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* They are squabbling among themselves (French in the original).

attack on you must begin.» On the other hand Tito is allegedly moving troops to the Macedonian-Greek border, because, the Greeks allegedly would attack Yugoslavia, too. All the revisionist ambassadors, wherever they are, take our ambassadors aside and, allegedly concerned about our fate, speak about the danger «which is threatening Albania». Things have gone so far that the Czechoslovak representative in Tirana was so shameless as to go to our Foreign Ministry and warn us «on behalf of the Soviet government» about «the danger which is threatening Albania». They all got a kick in the backside as they deserved. On the other hand, their press and that of the Italian and Titoite revisionists, in particular, orchestrated this campaign.

All this had one objective: to intimidate us, so that we would become alarmed and «hold out» our hand to these «knights errant» or, at least, to play on our nerves so that we would fall into the trap of their campaign and give the enemies an excuse to set up a great clamour which they could use for their own purposes. But they got nowhere with this, either. Our press displayed not the slightest interest in what was said and hatched up. For us it was few words and much work.

The revisionists were left biting their fingers. Let the monarcho-fascists touch our borders if they dare. They and their allies, the revisionists, will suffer defeat.

WEDNESDAY

NOVEMBER 22, 1967

DROPULL IS FLOURISHING AND WILL BECOME MORE FLOURISHING YEAR BY YEAR

Yesterday I received a very ardent revolutionary letter from the young people of the village of Bularat in the zone of Dropull. I shall reply to them.

In the letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to the young people of Bularat, he writes:

Dear young people of the village of Bularat in the zone of Dropull,

You made me very happy with the letter you sent me because it is full of revolutionary ardour, full of boundless love and loyalty to the Party and our dear Homeland. You are the sons and daughters of the industrious, heroic common people of Dropull who suffered greatly in the past, like the whole Albanian people, but are now living free, happy, and in steel unity with the whole Albanian people.

Today, Dropull is flourishing and will be-

come more flourishing every year. You have built new homes, now you have drinking water, (**1**) hearths and houses of culture, you have schools everywhere in your mother tongue and in the Albanian language, your roads have been sealed, very soon the whole of Dropull will be supplied with electric power, (**2**) while your fertile plain is being protected from flooding and work is going on vigorously to put it under irrigation, etc., etc.

All this is the work of the Party, your work, the work of our whole people.

How the Party and the Albanian people rejoice that the young people of Dropull are on the offensive and scoring new victories in every field, in the economy, in culture, in strengthening the defence of the Homeland, for which our enemies, the American imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other reactionaries envy us. But let the enemies howl. A people such as ours and a Party such as this of ours can never be conquered.

Your fathers, brothers and sisters, fell heroically in the National Liberation War, while today, you and the whole people, with the banner

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1 Life in the villages of Dropull was a real drama before Liberation because of the lack of drinking water, which either was bought with money or was collected in tanks during the rainfall. The first pipeline carrying water to these villages was inaugurated in 1950.

2 The supply of electric light to all the minority villages of the region of Dropull was completed in July 1968. whereas the whole country was electrified in October 1970.

of the Party unfurled, are pressing ever further ahead in the footsteps of heroes and heroines.

The heroism of Shkurte Vata and the iron will of Fuat Çela are a source of enthusiasm and inspiration for us. When I wrote to the blind comrade, Fuat Çela, I thought a great deal, also, about our communist comrade from the minority, Ilia Gazhga, whom I know personally. I have talked with him and know that he is an heroic communist, who, although blind, is very active and lively in the meetings of the Party and every kind of meeting, and that he teaches school children the mandolin, and so on. Please, embrace Ilia on my behalf, convey the heart-felt wishes that I send to him and to all of you for continuous successes and victories.

I embrace you. your parents, sisters and brothers of the whole of Dropull and I wish you joy for the celebration of the 28th and 29th of November.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, November 22, 1967

THE PEOPLE OF THE MINORITY ENJOY ALL RIGHTS LIKE EVERY CITIZEN OF OUR REPUBLIC

M A Y 5, 1969

In the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which was held one of these days we dwelt on the Marxist-Leninist stand which is maintained towards the Greek minority in our country etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha's contribution to the discussion:

On the attitude towards the minority, as on every other question, the Party has fought and is fighting for the application of its correct line. For us, nationalist and chauvinist deviations are completely impermissible and harmful. The Greek minority is closely linked with socialist Albania. The members of the minority are Albanian citizens, they are our brothers who are living in socialism

and enjoy all rights without any discrimination, like every other citizen of our Republic. They have the right to retain their mother tongue, their customs and ways just as the whole Albanian people have this right. (**1**) This is Marxist-Leninist.

The Party has correctly laid down that in no way must the mother tongue of the minority people be denied or eliminated. They must learn their mother tongue without fail, and this, also, is Marxist. We are internationalists, so if someone speaks Greek or another language, this has no importance for the Marxists, especially in regard to the minority people in our country who are citizens with equal rights and live in our socialist society in which the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is applied. In the primary schools of the Greek minority, the mother language must be taught with the greatest seriousness and the teachers of this subject must be competent. Hence, efforts must be made to ensure that the teachers of Greek are from the minority, while the Albanian teachers who teach in these schools should be of a high ideological and professional level.

In the primary schools of the minority, where all the lessons are taught in the Greek

1 These rights have also been sanctioned in the new Constitution of the PSRA in Article 42 which says: «Protection and development of their people's culture and traditions, the use of their mother tongue and teaching of it in school, equal development in all fields of social life are guaranteed for national minorities.»

language, of course, the Albanian language is taught, too, but the teaching of Albanian in these schools is done regularly only beginning from the four higher grades of the 8-yea school in which, also, work continues for the perfecting of the Greek language, which is the mother tongue for pupils from the minority people. The school programmes, too, must be seen from this stand-point.

The Albanian language is taught in the schools of the minority because the minority people will need it in life. It is known that the official language in our People's Republic is Albanian and that Albanian is spoken and written in the offices and everywhere else. When he grows up, the minority citizen may become a worker, the manager of an enterprise, a teacher, an official, an officer, etc., and hence, he will live not only in Dropull, but will go to work and run things anywhere, like all the other citizens of the Republic. The citizen of the minority has this right, therefore he must know the Albanian language.

Therefore, care must be taken and better work must be done to ensure that the newspaper *Laiko Vima*, which is published in Greek, (**2**) comes out at an ever higher level and with a pure language. This newspaper must deal with all the

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2 This newspaper, as an organ of the Democratic Front of the District of Gjirokastra for the Greek minority in Albania, began publication in May 1945.

problems which concern the minority, and address itself to a broad circle of readers of all ages. Besides this, the possibilities must be examined in regard to printing more books in their language for the minority people. This does not mean that they should not subscribe to *Zëri i popullit, Zëri i rinisë* or the other press and propaganda organs, just as all other citizens do. As citizens with equal rights and active fighters in the whole life of the country, the members of the minority find it necessary to subscribe to these organs, too, as is noticed, but what I have in mind here is that, although they learn the Albanian language, there is still a mass of people, especially adults, who do not know Albanian. It is our duty to see that this generation does not lag behind the others in regard to its cultural level, therefore, care must be taken to ensure that along with studies in their mother tongue, through our publications in the Greek language, they learn Albanian well, too, because in this way they will gain much from the extensive fund of our socialist culture. Every one of them Understands this, although he may not know Albanian. Hence, they feel it necessary to learn Albanian, to master it at least sufficiently to read the newspaper.

The development of our socialist society as a whole, the development of sound relations between the peoples is proceeding normally and without prejudices, in unity of thought and action, and this is an exceptionally great success

of the correct line of the Party. In regard to relations with the minority people, these have been and are healthy as relations are all over the country. For instance, marriages amongst them have been treated as a right of each person to decide for himself through his free will on the creation of the family. If a girl from the minority people falls in love with an Albanian boy, let her marry him. This is her right, just as it is for all other citizens of the Republic. Or if an Albanian girl wants to take a boy from the minority people as her husband, let her take him. But neither one nor the other should be pushed into it, because otherwise, not only would the feelings of young people not be respected, but this would also be turned into a tendency with undesirable consequences.

Hence, these matters must be looked at correctly from the stand-point of the Marxist-Leninist line. In the minority we have a patriotic people who are linked extremely closely with our people and the Party, who have embraced the line of the Party and its directives in policy, in ideology, in the stand towards religion, in the economy and in everything, and apply them properly. The minority people are hard-working, every one of them considers himself an Albanian citizen and loves socialist Albania, loves the Party of Labour and has fought for them.

We have given the minority these rights not only for the reasons which I mentioned above, but because we are Marxist-Leninists.

Likewise, the folklore of the minority, their songs, dances, poetry, etc., must be preserved as a spiritual treasury of the people. Of course, the members of the minority can dance in our style, too, but first of all, they should dance their own dances. We do not prohibit the minority from dancing in the styles of Labëria or Kukës, but we should encourage them to dance in their own way. The folklore of the minority is part of the treasury of all our folk culture.

By acting in this way, when they see that the rights which have been given them are applied to the letter, the members of the minority will love the Party even more, because in their daily lives they see the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line.

TEPELENA, THURSDAY
MAY 29, 1969

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ALBANIANS TO OTHER PEOPLES' WARS FOR FREEDOM

Today I met the residents of the town of Tepelena and surrounding villages. At the meeting which was held on this occasion, besides speaking of matters of the internal life of the country and some international problems, I spoke also about the contribution which the Albanians have made to other peoples' wars for freedom.

In his speech Comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things:

The worth of the people is not gauged from the size of the territory on which they live, or their numbers, but from their stands; from their capability to survive and forge ahead regardless of the storms and tempests of the centuries; from their ability to resist and overcome numerous enemies one after the other; from their ability to cope with the difficulties and storms of the times

through their courage, wisdom, vitality, tactics and strategy. Such peoples, even though small in numbers as our people are, deserve to survive and certainly will exist for ever. Our small people, but unconquered through the centuries, have proved this throughout their whole existence right down to this day.

Let us take a quick glance at history from before our era. In these parts, Alexander the Great of Macedonia was suckled by a mother from the Molossi clan of Epirus. Our ancestors, the Illyrians, who provided many emperors of Rome, resisted its hordes. We do not boast about the emperors, let the Romans call them theirs, but the fact that these men have emerged from the ranks of our ancestors has importance.

Outstanding realist writers and objective historians have written that the Albanians played a major role in the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. The Albanian people, under the leadership of Skanderbeg, defeated the hordes of Sultan Murad and Sultan Mehmet. For twenty-five years on end the legendary armies of our immortal hero made themselves defenders not only of our small people but of all the peoples of Europe. Even after the death of Skanderbeg the Albanian people did not yield, but on the contrary, they continued the fight bravely and heroically in the mountains and gorges, on the plains and along rivers, against the Ottoman oppressors and their hordes, whom they never left in peace from day to day, all through the

years, until they won their national independence.

The ideologists and fighters of our National Renaissance, inspired and supported by the masses of the people, not only fought for the freedom of Albania but also gave heart to the Young Turks who overthrew the Sultanate. The legendary history of our people continues just as gloriously subsequently, too, when they rose arms in hand to fight against the predatory aims of neighbouring chauvinists who sought to partition Albania and to trample over the blood and remains of tens of thousands of heroes who had fallen during the centuries. But no enemy has been able to eliminate Albania. They continued to pursue their greedy plans, time after time we suffered the grave consequences of their occupations, but we were never conquered.

And in this great struggle of the whole Albanian people (I am speaking about historical facts, and not just to please you), your grandfathers and great grandfathers, dear brothers and sisters of Tepelena, have made a valuable contribution throughout history so that Albania would live, would prosper, and its voice would be heard loudly in the world.

It was precisely here in Tepelena that Ali Pasha was born. True, he was a great feudal lord and despot, but he was also a clever politician who shook the sultan's empire. The European world had a high evaluation of Ali Pasha Tepelena in his own time. The history books and encyclopaedias of Europe speak in particular about

Tepelena and tell how Ali Pasha, for his own feudal aims, rose against the sultans and created the Pashalik of Janina, which he made very powerful. He aimed to separate his Pashalik completely from the Ottoman Empire and, if possible, to link it with the north, with the Pashalik of Shkodra, which was ruled by the Bushatlis at that time. This was a clever policy which Ali pursued. The French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, the outstanding military leader and tactician who occupied the whole of Europe and became the terror of the British, the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians, but who eventually ended up in exile on the Island of St. Helena, was well aware of this policy. When he was at the height of his power, Napoleon sent his ambassadors to form an alliance with Ali Pasha whom he considered, as he was, an important factor without whose support the strategic positions of the French domination of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean would be placed in danger. In the archives of Paris there are important documents written by Napoleon in which he instructed his envoy, General Donzelot, who commanded the French forces on Corfu at that time, to try to link up with Ali Pasha Tepelena, but at the same time to be wary lest this great politician, as Napoleon described him, might bag him, if he had not already done so by the time the letter arrived.

The fight of Ali Pasha contributed to the first victories of the Greek uprising in the years

1821-1822 and, despite the conflicts which had occurred between Ali and part of the Greek population, the leaders of the Greek uprising wrote to Ypsilanti that he should unite with Ali of Tepelena and call on the Albanian warriors, the Çaparajs of Çamëria and the Albanians of Morea, to rise together in insurrection. They appealed to the Greek insurgents to forget what Ali Pasha had done to them, because only with his aid and the aid of the Albanians could they emerge triumphant.

WEDNESDAY
OCTOBER 8, 1969

A PROPOSAL TO WHICH WE CAN GIVE A POSITIVE REPLY

We can give a positive reply to the proposal which the representative of Greece at UNO made to Halim Budo about developing trade. But it should be pointed out that it is important that the Greek government should annul the absurd law about «the state of war with Albania» and establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 3, 1969

ON SOME QUESTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANOLOGICAL SCIENCES

At the meeting of the Political Bureau which we held today, amongst other items on the agenda we had «Problems of the Further Development of Albanological Sciences in Our Country».

Speaking about the results which the comrades engaged in Albanological studies have achieved, I pointed out briefly that the Albanalogical sciences and, in particular, the special study of the genesis of the Albanians must be based solely on facts and Marxist-Leninist, anti-idealist, scientific deductions, combating any tendencies to chauvinism and megalomania. Our archaeological research should be orientated more directly than hitherto towards discoveries which serve to verify the genesis of our people rather than towards discoveries connected with the Greco-Roman civilization. Of course, the latter must not be left completely in oblivion, either,

because they have their importance since they show our contribution to world science, but they are of secondary importance for us. This must be kept well in mind.

HISTORICAL STUDIES MUST SERVE TO CLEAR UP THE PROBLEMS OF THE GENESIS OF OUR PEOPLE

From the contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

NOVEMBER 3, 1969

I want to say that our workers of historical studies must always bear in mind that Albanological (**1**) studies (and here I am speaking not of others, but of our own) on any problem must be based on science, and first of all, on the Marxist-Leninist science. Any study which is done in

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1 At the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, held on May 9. 1983. Comrade Enver Hoxha made an interpretation of the term «Albanological sciences». He suggested that the definition «sciences of our national history, language and culture» should be used instead.

Albania should be well-founded and must have no trace of chauvinism. On the contrary, any trace of chauvinism must be combated by our scholars as an alien manifestation. In our studies we must give well-founded scientific replies to those who have territorial pretensions towards Albania. Of course we must reply to these pretensions not only politically but also in other directions, and always in a scientific way.

When we say that our Albanological studies must have anti-chauvinist, anti-idealist, Marxist-Leninist scientific foundations, this means that we must deal with the problems correctly with the aim that our studies, in this field as in some other fields, will always be superior to those which are done outside Albania. In this way we will impose our views on those foreign scholars who have anti-scientific views, otherwise we will not be able to do so, irrespective that it is our country about which these studies are done. Basing ourselves on the Marxist-Leninist science, we will carry out observations and research which will always be correct, well-studied, with a national and international character and with the proper importance and attention given to both the national and international aspects of the matter.

We shall give the proper importance to problems of the genesis of the Albanian people, the Albanian language, the formation of the Albanian nation and all the other questions still under discussion, establishing them on scientific

foundations. We must defend what is ours with studies backed by scientific argument. We have never tried to appropriate anything by presenting as Albanian those things which are not Albanian. In no way can we say to the present-day Dalmatians, for example, that since the Illyrians extended over their territory in the past, we draw the conclusion from this that all the civilization which exists in their country is allegedly ours. Neither can we go ahead on the basis of suppositions and say, for example, that the Etruscans (about whom so far no one has found out who they are, since this is still an unknown question) are the ancestors of the Albanians. How true this hypothesis will prove to be is another matter, but as long as it remains a supposition we cannot be guided by it in our studies. It is a fact that, in comparison with the Roman culture, which in that time was, so to say, still barbarian, the Etruscan culture was more advanced. We cannot say, basing ourselves only on hypotheses, that the Etruscans are the ancestors of the Albanians.

Those who uphold the view of the Pelasgian origin of the Albanians are of the opinion that the Pelasgians were never assimilated by the Greeks, indeed, they go even further by claiming that it was the Pelasgian culture which influenced the Greek culture, etc. This means that the Pelasgian culture must have been much more developed than the Greek culture, but up till now the world has no more or less clearly defined

facts about this culture. If someone hopes to prove that the Greek culture was influenced by the autochthonous people whose ethnic-cultural appearance is still debatable, because it is based solely on what Homer and some other ancient authors say, first he must provide scientific arguments to disprove the views drawn by world science from the information available hitherto. The world is widely acquainted with the Greek culture which, as we know, was influenced by the earlier civilization of the peoples of Asia. This is very well known, while the influence of the culture of the Pelasgians is a supposition about which we still do not have proofs and facts from which to assume that it is true. Therefore, in order to avoid mistakes, serious work must be done in this direction and we must not proceed from wishful thinking.

I say this because, judging from what I have read in the newspapers, sometimes certain of our people engaged in science try to present the monuments of the Greek, Roman or Greco-Roman cultures discovered in our country as Illyrian, a thing which is not in the least correct. It is known that the culture of Apollonia, like that of Durrës, is a mixed Greco-Roman culture, therefore, if we try to appropriate it and declare that our ancestors developed it, we would not be objective. Of course, we can say that the Illyrians used it, too, and that they contributed to it by creating in that style and enriching it.

It is known from history that Rome occupied

many places around the Mediterranean, including Apollonia and Durrës, in which the Greek culture had been established previously. And as in every other place that Rome ruled, it carried its own culture there, too. We could say the same thing also about the Byzantine culture, which spread to our country several centuries later. It is true that there are many monuments built by Albanians to be found in Albania. For example, the Albanian architect, who built the Church of Labova of the Cross, was a great artist, although the style of this church is Byzantine, because, as is known, many such churches were built in all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, I think that we should put these matters right, so that they are treated with strict scientific objectivity.

Our workers of Albanological sciences are capable of orientating themselves and defining the field of their studies and work, but in my opinion they ought to place the emphasis mainly on the Illyrians, because the facts, the documents and all the archaeological, historical and other data proving the origin of the Albanians from them are more complete. However, this question must be studied in a scientific way, with facts and documents, and if we do it correctly we can impose the conclusions of such a well-argued study on everyone.

In archaeological research, too, greater care must be shown to present matters correctly. Naturally, in order to see what contribution our

people has made to the treasury of word culture, it is necessary for us to work to uncover the monuments of Roman and Greco-Roman antiquity and any other civilization on our territory. However, the excavations to uncover these monuments must be done in correct proportion with all the others; our archaeological work should be concentrated mostly on uncovering monuments of the Illyrians and all the tribes and peoples through which the origin and culture of the Albanian people are proved. I think such excavations should continue more intensively while the others should proceed at slower rates.

But why should we also uncover monuments which have nothing to do with the culture of our ancestors? We do this in order to serve world culture. Monuments such as the Colosseum in Rome exist also in Algeria, Syria and elsewhere, and indeed, we found traces of one such monument in Durrës, too, and it would not be a bad thing to excavate. Likewise, we have discovered statues of the city magistrates of Apollonia and have placed them where they belong. Of course, this work we have done is good, because the discovery of such cultural values has great importance and sho s that, like many countries, Albania, too, contributes to the enrichment of the treasury of world culture. Foreigners want to come to our country to see, to study and to write about these monuments we discover. However, the discovery of such monuments does not have

so much importance for us, apart from the fact that they have existed as works of architectural value. Let us look at the archaeological studies and excavations which foreign archaeologists and historians like Rey, Ugolini and all the others did in Albania in the past. We know that in their excavations they proceeded not from our interests but from their own.

I think that we should carry out excavations to unearth monuments which have to do with the contribution we made to the treasury of international culture, but always in the proper proportions. We should examine this question carefully and not engage all the forces at our disposal to uncover, for example, the mosaics of Pojan (Apollonia), etc., but should direct them mainly towards uncovering objects of our own ancient and beautiful culture which those who have oppressed us in the past have denied us, objects which confirm our theses, which are not chauvinist and which serve to explain our existence as a people. That is, we must know how to choose what to study and not boast, for example, about the historical fact that Belisarius (**2**) stayed three months in Durrës to await the cavalry of Justinian, together with the Illyrian troops which he sent to Ravenna, when we know that they were recruited as mercenaries. If there are facts in existence which show that these troops made a certain contribution to the

2 Byzantine general (494-565), born in Thrace.

development of history it is worthwhile to search the documents to learn what Belisarius and these troops did later, otherwise, we have no need for such a study. Likewise, it is well known from history that Mark Anthony and Caesar came to Albania. But what need have we to start to search to find material facts about this? Why should we engage in this work? However, it is of interest for us to know that the civil war in Rome gave the Illyrians the opportunity to rise in revolt against Rome. We should employ the scientific forces, first of all, in certain directions which are advantageous to us. I do not mean to say with this that we should not try to contribute to the treasury of world culture, but, as I said, we should always maintain the proper proportions in doing this work.

You comrades,(**3**)have not sat idle. On the contrary, you have done valuable work in this direction which has given results and we congratulate you on this. But if you want the Political Bureau to help you on matters which need to be cleared up and about which certain orientations should be given, then you should present these things to us in special studies when you find this appropriate. Among the foreigners, for example, there are a number of theories in linguistics which are not fragmentary, but schools,

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3 Addressing to Comrade Kahreman Ylli, former rector of the University of Tirana, and the other comrades of the Institute of History and Linguistics and the Institute of Folklore who took part in this meeting.

concepts of whole schools. These theories are, you might say, without any scientific basis but they have been implanted in the heads of men, of various professors who, we must bear well in mind, are not insignificant weeds but mighty oaks of the bourgeoisie who have their own theories backed with clever arguments which are not easily knocked down. Hence, if it is considered necessary for us to make our contribution to the struggle against these views which are being spread abroad, and it is absolutely necessary that we make it when the issue is about our country, we must give careful scientific attention to the orientations which foreigners have about Albanology. We should not pretend that we can knock down the false theories in circulation without many sound arguments. Our opinion prevails over the views of the foreigners when these are knocked down with sound scientific arguments, that is, when our opponents are completely convinced that our studies are as true as one and one makes two.

In order to achieve this aim our Albanological sciences must be inspired and guided by Marxist-Leninist science, must deal with everything in the proper proportions, must not be tied to old orientations, practices or views in the allocation of the work, must not forget the past, but must also take into account the present and the future. It would not be right to say that now we have no need for study of the question of the Pelasgians or of the influence which the Molossi

of Epirus had on Alexander the Great, because he was apparently a Greek, although this is not completely correct. Alexander the Great had a Molossian mother, a Macedonian father and he himself was brought up in the land of the Molossi for some time. All these things influenced his formation so that when he conquered Persia he assumed the features of a cosmopolitan emperor. Through the study of this question it is not at all our intention to draw the conclusion that Alexander was an Albanian, or to tell the Greeks that his mother was an Albanian, but to prove that this part of the Balkans, where he spent his childhood and from which his mother came, was not Greek at all, because an entirely different people, the Molossi, lived there and the tribes in those parts had developed in such a way that they could not be assimilated at all by the Greeks. True, these tribes had taken over elements of Greek culture and some Greek customs, but overall, their culture and customs were quite different from those of the Greeks. By proving this scientifically, it will emerge that the Molossi were not identical with the Hellenes.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 25, 1969

NOTE

A group of women and girls of Lower Dropull have sent me a letter of very warm greetings for the New Year. This letter which describes the bitter past of the women of the minority under the anti-popular Zog regime, brought back to me many painful, sad memories from the time of my childhood. (**1**) I shall reply to those brave, industrious and progressive women.

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1 The letter which 50 women and girls of Lower Dropull sent to Comrade Enver Hoxha says amongst other things: «We, the women of the minority, have suffered greatly in the past. We had no rights and freedoms, we were oppressed and exploited, the beys and aghas sucked our blood, while the Greek chauvinists killed us. We never had enough to eat, wild herbs were our permanent diet and we did not even have water. We had to go to Libohova and buy it for money. How many hardships were imposed on us. Emigration caused great suffering. We have many bitter memories from the past, but there came a day which made our eyes light up, our hearts sing and our lips smile. The Party brought us out of darkness into light, you gave us political freedom, gave us one gift after the other — the land, bread, water, schools, kindergartens, nurseries, electric light and so on, which we did not have.»

FOR THE WOMEN OF THE MINORITY, AS FOR THE ALBANIAN WOMEN, THE BITTER LIFE HAS GONE FOREVER

From the letter sent to 50 women and girls of Lower Dropull, Gjirokastra

Dear sisters of Dropull,

Amongst the telegrams of good wishes which I am receiving for the New Year I read your simple but very warm letter, full of love for our heroic Party.

Through your letter, I, who know the zone of Dropull from my childhood, lived for some moments together with you, with your memories, your work and your efforts. What you say about the past being very difficult and bitter for the Albanian women is very true. The old society which we fought and overthrew had been constructed in such a way that it underrated and humiliated women. For you, women of Dropull,

as for all the women of our country in the past, there were virtually no rights. The feudal-bourgeois state, religion, and the whole society at that time, had been constructed in such a way that even in the family all rights were denied the Albanian women. So, they carried the heaviest burden of life on their shoulders, working and toiling from dawn till dark. You women and girls of Dropull, in particular, had to fight the beys and aghas, too, who mercilessly exploited your toil and sweat, because the fathers and brothers of most of you went abroad to sell their youth and saddened the lives of your mothers in order to send back a little money which they earned with killing toil in the onerous conditions of the capitalist order.

But now all these things belong to the past. Our people, suffering and oppressed to the limit, produced from their ranks their own Party, this indomitable Titan that organized, educated and led them in the struggle to overthrow the cruel old world with its terrible material and spiritual poverty, to bury the exploitation, oppression, social injustices and hardships once and for all. In this heroic struggle, you comrades and sisters of Dropull, like all the women of Albania, made your very valuable contribution.

And now, just as during the National Liberation War, the patriotic people of the zone of Dropull, like the whole Albanian people, are taking part unsparingly in the great front of the education of our new man, in the work for

the prosperity and ceaseless strengthening of our People's Republic.

I am fully convinced that you will march forward because now our Albanian women have set out on such a course that there is no force in the world capable of stopping their progress. This is a great guarantee on the way to the full emancipation of women, a triumphant start of the struggle to the end against backwardness, against humiliating customs and laws, against conservatism and religious bigotry, against petty-bourgeois hangovers and gossip.

In closing this letter, I send you, dear comrades and sisters, my heartfelt wishes for new successes in all fields of life, and at the same time I wish you a Happy New Year. Let us work even better, with fresh energy, to achieve further successes in the work for the prosperity of our socialist Homeland.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, December 31, 1969

TUESDAY
JANUARY 20, 1970

THE FIRST MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF ALBANIA AND GREECE

The representative of our Chamber of Commerce made contact with the representative of the Greek Chamber of Commerce in Paris, according to the agreement which Halim Budo reached in New York with the Greek representative. The talks went well. The Greek, Canelopulos, was very friendly and well-behaved. Ours likewise. We shall see what this first meeting will lead to.

FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 13, 1970

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE NEVER WISHED THE GREEK PEOPLE ANY ILL

The Greek press is expressing various opinions, according to the political trends it represents, about the agreement between the Greek Chamber of Commerce and ours on trade exchanges.

Of course, since they are in favour of trade with us, something is moving in Greece. Trade is not the main thing, either for them or for us. We have always wanted to have good neighbourly relations with the Greek people. The monarcho-fascists did not want this. That did not worry us. They committed provocations against us, we put them in their place. The colonels' regime does not feel strong, either internally or abroad, or even with its allies. Then, it seems (this we expect to see later) it is going to alter the absurd stand of hostile relations with the People's Republic of Albania. We are not opposed to this.

On the 11th of this month the Greek government newspaper *Elevtheros Kozmos* wrote, amongst other things, about the question of relations with Albania. After speaking about the trade agreement referred to, the newspaper gives various reasons which, it says, emphasize «the necessity of considering Albania as it is... Albania is not under the influence of any Balkan or European country which could be used against us.»

In connection with the so-called territorial claims, the paper says that «Greece is not raising this question, but it has not neglected it and has the right to demand that Tirana take effective measures to protect the Greeks who live there.»

I gave instructions that all the articles in the Greek press about this problem should be sent to us and we, for our part, should take another step forward by publishing a short, concise, non-polemical article. (**1**) This would be a reasonable action and mutually useful to both peoples. The Albanian people have never wished the neighbouring Greek people any ill, but have always tried to live in sincere friendship with them and assisted them in every way possible in their wars of independence. Of course, the Albanian people, like the Greek people, cannot tolerate any violation of their freedom, independence, sovereignty

1 On 17 February 1970 the article «A Trade Agreement to the Mutual Benefit of the Albanian People and the Greek People» was published.

and territorial unity. Both Albania and Greece have fought many wars and have triumphed over foreign invaders. The peoples make their own history and one of these peoples, the Albanian people, waged bloody wars and made themselves and their Homeland strong and inviolable.

It was not just because this is what some individual desired that Albania's destiny changed the socialist course of the new Albania cannot be altered to suit the pleasure of this one or that.

We believe that the lessons of the development of the history of mankind must serve all. We Albanians have never doubted the friendly feelings of the Greek people towards the Albanian people, because even in their most difficult, most unfortunate moments, our people have nurtured a sincere friendship for the Greek people. Our people have never confounded the Greek people's sentiments with the sentiments of reactionary and chauvinist trends opposed to our country. These trends are anti-popular and lead to bloody conflicts, but they can never succeed in their aims against the People's Republic of Albania, regardless of the direction they come from and the form in which they are presented.

We have always said and we say again to the Greek people: The most correct road is the road of good neighbourliness and friendship between our two peoples based on non-interference, etc., etc.

We say to the Greek people: If someone

among you thinks that we want to be friends with you only because of temporary circumstances or because we are afraid of these circumstances, he is wrong. We are afraid of nothing when we are defending our rights, just as the Greek people are not afraid when they defend their rights.

TUESDAY
FEBRUARY 17, 1970

IT IS UP TO THE GREEKS TO TAKE INITIATIVES FOR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH US

We wrote a first non-polemical article addressed to Greece in connection with commercial exchanges, but in it we implied that they ought to take further initiatives for the establishment of diplomatic relations by removing the absurd obstacles which they themselves have raised. In the Greek press of this month there are tendencies in this direction. We are waiting. Let them take steps and we shall respond to them.

SATURDAY
FEBRUARY 21, 1970

THE GREEKS THANK US

The Greeks are grateful to our navy which, the day before yesterday, saved the eight-man crew of one of their merchant ships which caught fire while it was sailing in the Adriatic near our shores. Our government requested the Greek government to send a ship to pick the crew up as soon as possible. The Greeks thanked us.

FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 27, 1970

THE MATERIAL NEEDS OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE PRINTERY IN GJIROKASTRA MUST BE SECURED

I gave instructions that the needs of the printery in Gjirokastra, which prints all the publications in the Greek language for the minority, must be studied and special measures must be taken to secure such things as type faces, etc., which cannot be obtained except in Greece. This can now be done more readily through the trade exchanges which will be established between the two countries.

A LIVELY MILITANT TRIBUNE FOR THE WORKING MASSES OF THE MINORITY

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the newspaper «Laiko Vima», Comrade Enver Hoxha sent a letter of congratulations to the collective which produces it.

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the newspaper *Laiko Vima*, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and on my personal behalf, I send my warmest and most cordial congratulations to you and all its collaborators and voluntary correspondents.

Twenty-five years ago, our glorious Party, resolutely carrying out its correct Marxist-Leninist line in all the fields, successfully solved the problems which had to do with the rights of the Greek national minority in Albania. Just as for

the whole Albanian people, under the care of the Party, the minority population was guaranteed all democratic rights and complete equality, such as the right to use the language, the right to work, to get schooling and culture in the mother tongue, and so on. In this context, on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, publication commenced of the newspaper *Laiko Vima* as an organ of the Democratic Front of the District of Gjirokastra.

We observe with satisfaction that during these 25 years, the newspaper *Laiko Vima* has become a lively militant tribune for the working masses of the minority. In its pages the line and directives of the Party and the government are set out, the creative thinking and the work of the masses are prominent, reflecting the new happy life which is being built under the warm sun of socialism in the zones where our dear brothers and sisters of the minority are living, working, struggling and acting.

The newspaper *Laiko Vima* extensively reflects the steel unity of the people of the minority with all the fraternal Albanian people, the revolutionary and patriotic stand and work in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of our dear Homeland. In the pages of your newspaper, the people of Dropull, who in the past did not even have water to drink, write about the many gifts of the Party — from the bread which they once lacked to their mother tongue which is taught in schools, from the

flood protection and draining of the plain to the pure water and the electric lights which so beautify that valley; the people of Pogon write about the happy days which they are enjoying, the new land which they open in the mountains, about the motor-roads which have been built in that remote zone, and the social and cultural buildings; the people of Vurg write about the many canals which drain and water their land, yesterday a breeding place of mosquitoes and misery, about the new houses which have replaced the hovels; the ordinary peasants of the «Partizani» zone write about their culture and art, about the new man whom the Party has educated — many comrades of the minority write about those things which make their hearts sing, about the blessings of socialism in which they are living, and compose their most beautiful lines to the Party which brought them, like the whole Albanian people, from darkness into light.

During this quarter of the century, the newspaper *Laiko Vima*, together with all the other organs of the people's press, has played a major role in the revolutionary education of the minority population. Now its name is known even beyond the borders of our socialist Homeland.

I express the conviction that in the future, too, you, comrades of the editorial staff, correspondents and collaborators of the newspaper *Laiko Vima*, will continue to propagate the correct line of the Party, its enlightening ideas, its

Marxist-Leninist policy and the continual successes which the marvellous, heroic, hard-working and talented people of the minority will score in their work under the leadership of the Party.

On the occasion of this anniversary, I send you my congratulations and best wishes and hope that in the future you will make the newspaper *Laiko Vima* ever more militant, richer in content and finer in form, purer in language and more useful and dearer to its readers.

First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Party of
Labour of Albania

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, May 23, 1970

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

NOTE

From a report of the West-German news agency, DPA, published in today's bulletin of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, I learned that Costantin Tsaldaris died on the 13th of November.

In 1946, I had to clash fiercely with this rabid anti-Albanian over the territorial claims and slanders against my country which he made at the Paris Peace Conference. At that time he was prime minister of Greece and head of the Greek delegation to the Conference.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 14, 1970

A POSITIVE STATEMENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

Our representative at UNO, Sami Baholli, informs us that the representative of the Greek government has told him that «... he has been charged by his government to beg that it should be transmitted to the Albanian government that it (the Greek government) has taken a very kindly view of the gestures of the Albanian government, such as the release of the aircraft, (**1**) of boats, etc., and will make efforts to improve relations up till the establishment of diplomatic relations.»

This is positive, we must study it and respond to it positively.

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1 It refers to a «Dakota» airliner of the Greek civilian airways which was hijacked and forced to land at the airport of Tirana on August 16, 1969.

FRIDAY
JANUARY 8, 1971

ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE

Our representative at UNO, Comrade Sami Baholli, had another meeting with the representative of Greece at this organization, Bitsios, and following up the proposal of the latter, communicated to him that the Albanian government is ready, as it has always been, to establish diplomatic relations with Greece, relations which, in our opinion, should be at ambassadorial level, and that ambassadors should be exchanged.

Bitsios replied that he would transmit this proposal of the Albanian government to his government immediately. He added that the Greek government «has observed with satisfaction that the Greek minority in Albania preserves and develops its mother tongue (Greek) and also learns it at school. But it would be good, and this would assist the Greek government in its actions, if the Albanian government were to make a declaration in which it proclaims that it

allows the minority to practise the Orthodox religion as well.» Bitsios also asked that a certain *imprécise** addition, which the Greek government could use for internal opinion, should be added to the communiqué about the establishment of relations. This addition would read «after relations are established, it would propose to the Albanian government that a peace treaty should be signed», etc.

We shall instruct Sami that he should talk with the Greek representative about the question which he has raised, explaining to him once again our position that we are for the establishment of diplomatic relations in the spirit of friendship and not according to unacceptable conditions which they demand. The small Greek minority, which is an integral part of the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania, like all the other citizens of the Republic, won its democratic rights through struggle and was granted them by the Party of Labour of Albania, its Marxist-Leninist Party, which did this not just to please this one or that, whoever they may be. This is the road of socialism which is followed by the Albanian people and, together with them, by their brothers of the Greek minority.

In the Orthodox Church, Great-Greek reaction has always had the basis of its secret agents

* French in the original.

and the propaganda of the «Vorio-Epirote megali idhea» among the minority. But our people and Party destroyed that hotbed of reaction, not only among the minority, but all over the country.

THURSDAY
MARCH 25. 1971

THE GREEKS PRESENTED THEIR FORMULA FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The Greek government, through its permanent representative at UNO, Bitsios, communicated to Sami Baholli its formula for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

We are studying it.

THURSDAY
APRIL 29, 1971

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ARE BEING ESTABLISHED WITH GREECE

The Greek government has agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. The announcement of this will be made in Tirana and Athens respectively at 16.00 hours on May 6. The Greek representative at UNO, Bitsios, communicated this.

Thus, an absurd situation comes to an end. Now the situation will be normalized.

FRIDAY
APRIL 30, 1971

NOTE

I gave some instructions for the preparation of a short, concise political article(**1**)about the establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece.

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1 This article entitled «A Marked Event in the Relations Between Albania and Greece», which was published in the newspaper *Zëri i popullit* on May 14, 1971, says: «The normalization of relations between the two countries opens the way for them to develop their links of friendship, exchanges and collaboration in various fields which present mutual interest. There is no doubt that the establishment of normal relations between Albania and Greece will serve as a sound basis to enhance the friendship and collaboration between our two neighbouring peoples and countries.»

A POLICY CONSISTENT AND PRINCIPLED IN ALL DIRECTIONS

NOVEMBER 1, 1971

In the report submitted to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was held on November 1-7, 1971, speaking of the position of Albania in the international arena, Comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on problems of the Balkans, the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of this zone.

Today the People's Republic of Albania occupies an honoured place in the international arena, it enjoys the respect and admiration of the freedom-loving peoples and of all the progressive forces. Socialist Albania has not been isolated, as its enemies predicted and desired, but its international ties, its authority and position in the world have become even stronger.

The sympathy and respect it enjoys with all the progressive countries and peoples of the world, the weight and influence of our country, result neither from the size of its population nor from its economic and military power. The strength and influence of socialist Albania lie in the Marxist-Leninist ideas that inspire it, which it preserves unsullied and spreads throughout the world. They lie in the true socialist society which is being built in Albania, in the courageous, principled and consistent struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries.

Our country has hundreds upon hundreds of millions of comrades and friends all over the world, for it is a country that respects itself and all the peoples, for just as it resolutely guards its own freedom and independence, it wishes well and a happy future for all the other countries, too.

It is precisely because we pursue this policy and enjoy this respect, that our enemies hate us, curse us, and fight us. But this does not make us change our ways, nor conceal our views and actions. Our Party has never lacked civil courage on the international arena and it will not lack it at any time or under any circumstances.

The Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania are and will remain sworn enemies of imperialism and revisionism. Considering their struggle as part and parcel of the general revolutionary struggle of the peoples, they have waged an active struggle against US-

led imperialism and against revisionism, headed by the Soviet leadership, they have resolutely condemned and exposed their aggressive policies and activities, their aims to oppress the peoples, to strangle the revolution and to dominate the world. The experience of our country hitherto has made us even more convinced that the freedom and independence we have won can be defended and guaranteed only by a continuous struggle against imperialism and revisionism, without compromise, everywhere and in every aspect, and this is still as true today as it was in the past.

The correctness of the line of our Party in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism has been fully confirmed by life, it is confirmed by the victories achieved.

Conscious of its lofty responsibility to its people and to socialism, our Party will never stop half-way. It will fight with determination and with all its strength against imperialism and social-imperialism, till their complete destruction and the triumph of the revolution world-wide. Our people and Party regard this struggle as one and indivisible, because one cannot successfully oppose imperialism without also fighting Soviet social-imperialism at the same time, and vice-versa.

The foreign policy of our Party and government has been and remains principled and consistent in all its directions and components...

Our country has always shown goodwill and

has undertaken constructive steps to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, and mutual advantage.

While struggling against imperialism and revisionism, we strictly adhere to the principle that the internal affairs of each country are questions that should be settled by that country itself, without any imposition or interference from outside. Likewise, we defend the viewpoint that all relations between countries, whether small or big, can and must be built only on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. We have established and are developing our relations with all states on this basis. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and a number of countries, concluded during the last year, is a visible success of our foreign policy and testifies to the strengthening of the international position of the People's Republic of Albania. It complies with the common interests of the peoples and serves the promotion of understanding and collaboration between them...

We are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. We hope that the feelings of friendship, forged in the anti-fascist war, will be developed in a proper way for the common good of our peoples. In the Albanian people the peoples of Yugoslavia will always have friends who wish

to see them free, independent, and sovereign, who resolutely oppose all the manoeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the imperialist powers towards our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Good relations exist between our country and Italy and Turkey. The preservation and development of them responds to our common interests. Diplomatic relations were established this year also between Albania and Greece. This is an important event which put an end to an abnormal situation and which serves the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

The People's Republic of Albania is in favour of the future development of relations between our country and the neighbouring countries in a positive direction and in those fields that present mutual interest in the struggle against the interference and intrigues of the imperialist great powers.

The friendship and understanding between the Balkan countries must have its foundations among the peoples. We do not intend to put forward or to accept proposals to form Balkan blocs and alliances. The People's Republic of Albania desires and will strive to forge its friendship with the Balkan peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The regime of each country is a matter for its own people. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but neither should others interfere in ours. This does not exclude mutual criticism and polemics. Socialist Albania will never allow itself to violate

the freedom, independence and sovereignty of other countries. The Albanian people have never done such a thing during their whole history, but neither will they allow others to violate their freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The times have changed for us Albanians. If it should happen that the new czars of the Kremlin, like the old czars, various imperialists, or the chauvinist cliques of the Balkans, attempt to violate the borders of the People's Republic of Albania, the Albanians, united to a man, will no longer be found as they were in 1878, or in 1914, or even in the time of Mussolini and Hitler. Clear accounts make for good friends.

The Albanian people who have suffered for centuries from barbarous invaders, who won their freedom by shedding rivers of blood, advise the fraternal peoples of the Balkans to guard against the intrigues of the imperialists of each and every hue, to tell them jointly, «Hands off our countries!», to permit no one to abuse our friendship.

The Balkan peoples are completely capable of deciding for themselves and in a sovereign way on the relations between them. They did not make the Balkans a «powder keg». It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the

sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any one people, or of all our peoples jointly. This is the most sincere and steel-like alliance that can be proposed to the Balkan peoples.

It should be clear that if some Balkan state, prodded by the imperialist powers, undertakes aggression against another Balkan state, it will not be possible to avoid the intervention of the other Balkan states. This would not remain a local war, but would become the cause of a world conflict.

All the states that respect the supreme rights of socialist Albania, that implement the recognized principles on which the relations between sovereign states are based and wish to maintain normal relations with us, will find understanding and reciprocity in the People's Republic of Albania.

SUNDAY
JANUARY 16, 1972

ADMISSIONS OF A CIA AGENT

I read the book, *Dans le tourbillon de l'histoire,** by the American C.L. Sultzberger. They are the «journalistic» memoirs of this person who poses as a journalist, but who in fact is one of the most qualified agents of the American intelligence organization, the CIA, and who knows which other organizations. Through this book we see that he eats and drinks with all the people of the top spheres, knows all the secrets and is entrusted to carry out diplomatic missions.

In the chapter on the Balkans, he mentions Albania during the Second World War derogatively, of course, saying that the Albanian people «know only how to cut wood and peddle hazelnuts on the street corners.» From the hatred which he nurtures for Albania, he not only underrates our people's war, but in expressing his

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* *In the Maelstrom of History.*

regret that we came to power, he reveals the intrigues and plots which the British, the Americans and their friends hatched up to liquidate the «Hoxha government», as he calls the people's state power.

Sultzberger attributes to Julian Amery, an officer of the British mission in our country at the time of the war and a minister after the war, the following statement made in 1949, «By delaying the organization of the revolt within Albania until summer, the British and Americans have dragged things out unnecessarily.» «I am of the opinion,» says Amery, «that with a little gold we could rouse the northern parts of Albania against Hoxha before it is too late,» etc. That is how our enemies thought and acted at that time. Now they are admitting this through their own mouths.

Sultzberger also reveals that in November 1949 the British infiltrated into our country saboteurs and agents trained in Malta, whom we captured and wiped out. The important thing is that they are now admitting these things themselves, because our courts at that time brought all this out with indisputable proofs.

In this book, too, Sultzberger exposes the lies of Tito, Djilas and Dedijer against our country and reveals that they were linked with both Britain and the United States of America, and what is important, he describes how their transformation into agents began and ended.

In the lies which Djilas and Dedijer concoc-

ted against us, these Titoite traitors allege that it was we, with our «police» regime, who provoked the Yugoslavs, so that the Soviets and Stalin would have an excuse for military intervention in Yugoslavia and d for liquidating Tito. This is a filthy slander to cover up their hostile activity against socialist Albania and to create complete belief among the Americans that Tito's Yugoslavia was being threatened by the Soviet Union and Stalin.

Sultzberger admits in his book that he was one of the Americans with the greatest influence in Greek monarcho-fascist circles. He went in and out of the houses of the king of Greece, the chief of the general staff, Venizelos and General Van Fleet, as if he were in his own home.

Tito, through Djilas, entrusted Sultzberger with the task of going to the king of Greece and the chief of the Greek general staff to propose the conclusion of a treaty between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, which was signed later. (**1**) What is important, however, is what Sultzberger writes in his book about us, which I am copying almost word for word:

«Paris, April 28, 1953. This evening I had a drink and a talk with my old friend, Panayotis Canelopoulos, minister of defence of Greece. When

1 It was signed on February 28, 1953 and supplemented with the treaty of Bled (Yugoslavia), in August 1954 This treaty by no means constituted a factor for peace in the Balkans, as its authors claimed, but was a war-mongering instrument in the hands of the American and British imperialists.

I asked him how their relations with Yugoslavia and Turkey were going, this is what he said to me openly: In case of war, there will be no joint Greek-Yugoslav offensive against Albania. It is hoped that within the next two to nine months a coup d'état will be carried out, through which Albania will be liberated from Hoxha and the Soviets. If necessary, American troops will maintain order after the coup d'état. The Greeks agreed that they would not interfere, and also informed the Yugoslavs in terms only a little less clear...

«However, if the coup d'état does not turn out successful, with the approval of Admiral Carney, it has been decided that it will not be necessary for Albania to be occupied. Thus, the Greek and Yugoslav divisions, which had been deployed to attack Albania and occupy the country, are released to go to the North and the East.»

Briefly this is what this experienced American agent writes. Of course, there are numerous great and dangerous Anglo-American plots. They do not dare reveal them, but the historians of our country have brought them to light with facts and documents and will continue to write about and expose them.

WEDNESDAY
FEBRUARY 2, 1972

THE GREEK AMBASSADOR SPEAKS WELL AND SYMPATHETICALLY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN ALBANIA

As the comrades have told me, the Greek ambassador, Carayannis, is well-disposed towards the improvement of the relations of Greece with Albania. He says that he and Palamas (**1**) were the pioneers and urgers of the Greek government to eliminate the absurd conditions which Greece had laid down in order to hinder the establishment of these relations. Hence he, as a «pioneer», likewise, had proposed to his government that he should be the first Greek ambassador in Albania.

Carayannis speaks well and sympathetically about the situation in Albania, states that wherever he goes here and with whoever he meets here he finds great hospitality and kindness shown for himself as ambassador of Greece. Because of the

1 At that time minister of foreign affairs of Greece.

incorrect propaganda that has been spread about Albania and the Albanians, people in Greece could never imagine such things. He goes on to say that, unfortunately, this propaganda has left impressions which still exist and which we must do our utmost to eliminate. He speaks with admiration about the successes which Albania has achieved in every direction and opposes those who distort the Albanian situation which is clear. He says that they lie and disparage everything which he can see with his own eyes is good. One has to judge Albania as it was and as it has become now, irrespective whether or not you agree with the present regime. We desire, declared the Greek ambassador in our Foreign Ministry, to live as good neighbours. No one in Greece believes in the territorial claims and the «state of war» is an absurdity because, while it is true that the Italian attack came from Albanian territory, Albania itself was occupied by the Italians and fought against them. When Albania resisted the Soviet interference and no longer constituted a danger to Greece(?!), he said, we were convinced that along with this all the other reasons were eliminated, too.

After this, the Greek ambassador made the friendly and reasonable request that we should allow a democratic Greek journalist to come here for the purpose of making the progress of our country known to the Greek public. In this way, he said, I wish to contribute to cleaning up the mistaken ideas which exist in Greece about Albania.

Then he asked us to make it possible for him to visit Saranda and later Gjirokastra. These are the matters which the Greek ambassador raised with our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I instructed the comrades that these requests should be fulfilled at the most suitable moment.

It is in our interest, too. that the Greek public should think differently about us. The journalist that the Greek ambassador undertakes to recommend may write to some extent like many other foreign journalists who have come to our country. We cannot expect too much, but it is possible that the ambassador personally will exert a good influence on him. We shall allow him to visit the South and even to go to some village of Dropull to meet the people and see with his own eyes how well our brothers of the minority live in their own socialist country, because Dropull is part of Albania and the people of Dropull are linked like flesh to bone with the Albanian people and the Party of Labour which has given them the same rights, equality, etc., etc.

He himself will make the comparison between our reality and those slanders which reaction spreads.

FRIDAY
APRIL 14, 1972

CARAYANNIS VISITS OUR SOUTHERN ZONES

The comrades of the Foreign Ministry informed me that the Greek ambassador, Carayannis, went to Gjirokastra, Saranda and Vlora (via the coast road). He paid an official visit to the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Gjirokastra, visited the museums and recorded his good impressions in the visitors' books there. He visited the agricultural cooperative of Sofratika where they informed him about the development of the economy and culture of the minority.

They gave him parcels of school books in the Greek language. The scenery, the fields, the villages (they drove through the valley of Dropull by night to see the lights of the minority villages) had the beauty of spring. He was greatly impressed.

TUESDAY
SEPTEMBER 5, 1972

A GREEK SHIP SINKS IN OUR TERRITORIAL WATERS

The Ministry of Defence informed me of the sinking of a Greek ship in our territorial waters. The sinking may be accidental but sometimes the owners of old ships sink them themselves to collect the insurance. Our comrades immediately went to the aid of the Greek sailors.

VLORA, TUESDAY
NOVEMBER 28, 1972

NO EVIL WILL COME TO THE FRATERNAL GREEK PEOPLE FROM OUR COUNTRY

This evening, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence and the 28th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Vlora District gave a reception. I delivered the address.

Speaking about the secret aims of the «aid» of the Soviet revisionists, in his speech among other things Comrade Enver Hoxha says:

We Albanians know only too well what is hidden behind the so-called internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists. Today other peoples and states are tasting the imperialist character of their aid. It was these Soviet revisionists who actively sabotaged the development of our economy, our industry and our mines. They had long-

range aims: to enslave our socialist country and turn it into a satellite of theirs.

This heroic Vlora saw Khrushchev, (**1**) too. When this renegade from Marxism-Leninism stood before the marvellous Bay of Vlora, he was entranced and at one moment I heard his collaborator, Malinovsky, whisper to him: «Do you understand Nikita Sergeyevich? Now we can hit Gibraltar with the missiles from Berlin and East Germany, while from the Bay of Vlora we have the whole Mediterranean in our hands.» All they had in their hands was the wind, because our Party and government smashed their plans. Vlora will never be in the hands of foreigners.

At Butrint the same Malinovsky again said to Khrushchev: «This is a beautiful lake. If a canal is put through to the sea a marvellous submarine base could be built here, and then Greece, too, would become ours.» A shudder ran through me and I remembered that dark night in Tirana when Vasil Shanto and I stuck posters on the walls saying, «Down with Italian fascism! Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom!» No, our Party and government would never allow evil to come to the fraternal Greek people from the land of olives!

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1 In May 1959 Khrushchev paid a visit to Albania.

FRIDAY

JUNE 1, 1973

THE GREEK MONARCHY HAS BEEN OVERTHROWN

The monarchy in Greece has been overthrown by the colonels and Yorgos Papadhopoulos has proclaimed the republic with himself as president. A popular referendum will be held.

THURSDAY
JUNE 27, 1974

CELEBRATION AT BODRISHTA

The people of the village of Bodrishta, in Upper Dropull, have sent me an invitation to the celebration they will hold on June 30 to commemorate the 15th anniversary of my visit to that village. Because of other commitments I am unable to go. I shall send them a letter of congratulations and good wishes.

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF DROPULL IS BECOMING HAPPIER EVERY DAY

Letter sent to the people of Bodrishta in Upper Dropull, Gjirokastra

Dear comrades,

First of all, I want to thank you for the letter which you sent me, in which you invite me to take part in your celebration. I beg you to excuse me because other work prevents me from coming, despite the ardent desire I have to visit those parts, where, like everywhere else in Albania, constructive work is in full swing to make our dear Homeland prosperous and powerful.

I have very clear memories of that unforgettable day when I visited your village, Bodrishta. To tell you the truth, now as I write to you, in my mind's eye I can see all the beauty of the villages of Upper Dropull from Jergucat

to Koshovica, Llongo and Sotira, from Kërra to Kakavia, which have long been united in an enlarged agricultural cooperative and are forging ahead steadily on the brilliant road of socialism on which our dear Party leads us.

The course of the collectivization of agriculture which was begun in your zone by your neighbour, Zervat, and which has been followed by all the other villages of Dropull, has completely changed the appearance of that zone and improved the life of the people of Dropull, which is becoming happier year by year. What great satisfaction anyone who is well acquainted with the bitter past of our whole people feels today when he visits your beautiful valley! One's heart swells with joy to hear the roar of tractors and header-harvesters, to see that broad, fertile plain which is irrigated by the ample waters of the Doftia and Pepel reservoirs, which make the wheat and maize, lucerne, tobacco and other crops flourish, the result of the vigorous and enthusiastic work of the patriotic and progressive inhabitants of your zone, the marvellous men and women of Dropull.

The comrades of the Party and the state in the district have kept me constantly informed about the changes which have been and are being made in Bodrishta. At one time, the people of that village, like the whole of our people, as our contemporaries remember, never had enough to eat, their lips were parched for a drop of water, wild herbs were their daily diet, the exploitation

was heavy, and so early death took people off. But those days have gone never to return. The Party made you and the whole Albanian people masters of the country. Now you work, produce and run things for yourselves. The bread, which you never had before, you secure in plenty today. The drinking water which you lacked for centuries on end, now flows to your village from the cold springs of the mountain. Your sons and daughters get schooling, beginning from the 8-year school in the village and the agricultural secondary school of Bularat up to the other secondary and higher schools of Albania. Soon you will also have your new house of culture. To anyone who travels by night to Vrisera and sees the electric lights shining in Bodrishta and Bularat, it seems as if there is a real town on the right-hand side.

All these and many other blessings for your village and all the villages of Dropull were brought by the Party and its correct line. Our Party overthrew the regime of oppression and injustice once and for all for our whole people, including the minority, the inhabitants of which for 30 years have been living free, in true brotherhood, and on the basis of our Constitution, one of the most advanced in the world; they enjoy full and equal rights with the whole Albanian people in the People's Republic of Albania. That is why all our people, shoulder to shoulder with whom live the industrious and patriotic people of the minority, that inseparable

part of our Homeland, swear allegiance to our dear Party which brought us from darkness into light, which brought us these happy days and is leading us forward from victory to victory. That is why the people of the minority, in steel unity with our working class and our whole people, are working tirelessly under the leadership of their glorious Party of Labour for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

We understand clearly that our enemies, the imperialists, the revisionists and all other reactionaries, are trying to rob us of these victories. Those rabid enemies indulge in day-dreams and sometimes slander us, sometimes wave the olive branch to us, sometimes threaten us and sometimes pose as though they grieve for us because we are allegedly suffering, living badly, do not have democracy, and so on. But who is deceived by them? Nobody! As far as our people are concerned, they long ago told the enemies: «Don't pity the rider because his legs hang down!» At the same time we are not only working and learning, but also standing vigilant, training to strengthen our defence, so that tomorrow, if need be, each rifle will be like a cannon.

At your celebration, dear brothers and sisters of Bodrishta, as you yourselves say in your letter, you will draw up the balance-sheet of your work. I am convinced that this balance, covering 15 years since I have been in your village, will be a rich one, because there everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, even including

the blind communist, my old friend in Bularat, Ilia Gazhga, is working. All of you work tirelessly and are always vigilant, because you are people who suffered a great deal in the past, because you are unpretentious, men of the rifle, the pick and the book, linked with the Party like flesh to bone. With these qualities, which all our people possess, there is no force in the world which can split us and turn us from our revolutionary course, there is no difficulty we cannot overcome and no victory we cannot achieve.

Dear brothers and sisters of Bodrishta, in congratulating you on the successes achieved, I wish you new, even greater victories in the future. Let your present celebration be the beginning of a new and powerful offensive on every front of the work, in production, in the assimilation and application of the teachings of the Party, and the further strengthening of our revolutionary vigilance and defence, so that we come to the great jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the Liberation of our Homeland with new successes.

On this occasion, please convey my best wishes to everybody, to the children, sisters and brothers of Dropull.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, June 29, 1974

SATURDAY
JULY 20, 1974

GENUINE FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

Today Turkey disembarked military forces in Cyprus. Of course, the excuse was found for this: «to defend the agreement of Geneva and Zurich» (Turkey is one of its guarantors), «to defend the Turkish minority», «to defend all the Cypriots, the status quo, the peace», etc.

When the situation in Cyprus was stabilized our stand, too, was in favour of this status quo. Who upset it? Without any doubt, the big imperialist powers and their allies who have ambitions towards Cyprus, which faces Anatolia with its nose pointing towards the Bay of Iskenderun and the military port of Mersin, from which the landing forces set out.

The priest Makarios and General Grivas fought for *enosis** Makarios was against the Turks and for unification with Greece, then he

* union (Greek in the original).

turned against Athens, was with Britain and against it, which in the end rescued him from the clutches of *enosis*, he was pro the United States of America and then fell out with it, permitted the NATO bases on the island, became friendly with the Soviet Union, visited China, reached accord with Mao and Chiang Chen, posed as «non-aligned», but flirted with everybody.

The United States of America gave help and acted quickly to become master of Cyprus, from fear that Russia, which is hungering for bases in the Mediterranean, might take its place. However, Turkey asked no one's permission but crossed the water barrier.

The Soviet Union is shouting against Greece saying that it is going to annex Cyprus. But who is talking? The Khrushchevites who talked with Venizelos (junior) about giving Gjirokastra and Korça to Greece. Who is talking about annexation? The Soviet social-imperialists who occupied Czechoslovakia?! But it is obvious why they are doing this.

Poor old Tito, who poses as a man of principle, is shouting, too, but we shall see how much the «friend» and «ally» of Turkey and Greece will shout. He will have a few words to say against the leadership of Turkey just for appearances' sake, as he did over the occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Those who are the «friends» of cliques today become their enemies tomorrow, take the side

of one today, while tomorrow they find other formulae dictated by the dollar, the ruble or the pound sterling.

At UNO the big imperialist powers are talking on and on. In fact, the issues are decided outside UNO. What shamelessness! Declarations are issued from all sorts of meetings, while bombs and shells are falling on the peoples.

Our stand is simply freedom, independence and genuine democracy for the people of Cyprus, both Greek and Turk. In a situation like this, however, nothing can be achieved. For the revolution to triumph there must be struggle, a long struggle still, by the Cypriot people themselves and all the other peoples. Struggle against the two superpowers and all their agencies and cliques throughout the world. **We are strengthening our defences, are very vigilant, because the danger of a war in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans is looming. We will never be taken by surprise and if danger comes we will face up to any aggression and conquer it successfully.**

TUESDAY
JULY 23, 1974

CYPRUS AND THE HEGEMONIC PLANS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

With Comrade Hysni [Kapo] I looked over the article which we have prepared for publication tomorrow in the newspaper *Zëri i popullit*, under the title: «Cyprus and the Hegemonic Plans of the Two Superpowers in the Eastern. Mediterranean».

I had thought over and prepared some ideas to add to the article without repeating things, but I decided against it. My purpose was that we should strengthen the already formed opinion in favour of our wise and cautious policy on the question of Cyprus, a problem which has political importance, especially in connection with our southern neighbour. Regardless of the activities of Greek or Turkish chauvinism, we retain equal goodwill both towards the people of Turkey and towards that of Greece. And we also unmask all

the lackeys of the Americans and the Soviets, including Tito, Ceausescu and others.

It is regrettable that the truth of things is being concealed, and this is being done for particular selfish interests, to please one or the other big state, for reasons of opportunism, servility and from fear. However, we Albanians have not been and are not afraid to say openly what we think. We are for peaceful coexistence with equal rights and sincere and harmonious brotherly relations between the two communities of the island.

The friendly Greek people are being attacked. We are opposed to these attacks, because it is not the Greek people, but American imperialism which is to blame for what is occurring. American imperialism together with British imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are hatching up and inciting these intrigues. These three monsters are gambling with the fate of the peoples of the Mediterranean, the Balkans and the world. Each of them is trying to take control of Cyprus, to get its clutches on Turkey and to capture the Straits, to enslave the Greek people and to go on eventually to a general conflict. This is a great truth. The edge of the sword must be directed against these imperialists and social-imperialists, and not against the fraternal Turkish and Greek peoples.

It is the revisionist and imperialist Soviet Union and the bloodthirsty savage imperialism of the United States of America that violate the

sovereign rights of peoples, incite feuds and bloodshed between them in order to fleece them more thoroughly and to suck their blood. Is this not clear from Vietnam. Bangladesh, the Middle East, and now Cyprus, etc., etc.? Can the terror which American imperialism has brought to the peoples be forgotten? The revisionists of Moscow are attacking Greece through propaganda. And who is doing this? Those who attacked and occupied Czechoslovakia, who overthrew Makarios-Dubček and replaced him with Samson-Husak! The Soviet revisionists are allegedly defending Turkey. Who can swallow this lie? Nobody, least of all we Albanians and the Turks, with whom we are linked in sincere friendship, just as we are linked with the Greek people.

We tell the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists: Hands off Turkey and Greece! Leave them in peace because they are capable of solving the disagreements which have arisen between them in understanding and in the interests of their two peoples and world peace. It is you, American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialist revisionists, who incite the feuds, who caused the blooshed in Cyprus, and now. without doubt, you want to emerge as «saviours» of the situation. Already they have begun to sing the praises of an intriguer called Kissinger, already the word is being spread that «Soviet forces» will stabilize the situation.

We are not deceived. It is the goodwill of Turks. Greeks and Cypriots which led to the

cease-fire. And we are confident that it is the will of these brave and progressive peoples that will bring peace to Cyprus and, through understanding and justice, will re-establish its independence and sovereignty, democracy, freedom, coexistence and fraternity between the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of the island. This will be a great and glorious deed and will bring great benefit, especially to the peoples of the Balkans, with whose fate the big imperialist powers have gambled, powers which have caused hostility and bloodshed between these peoples in order to oppress them more easily. But now those times have gone forever.

THURSDAY
OCTOBER 3, 1974

A CORDIAL MEETING WITH ELECTORS

Today in the Opera and Ballet Theatre I had a meeting with the electors of electoral zone no. 209 in which I am the candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly.

The meeting was an ardent expression of the profound love and respect which the masses of working people of the capital nurture for our beloved Party. I delivered a speech on this occasion. I devoted the bulk of the speech to our foreing policy, an open policy of proletarian principles.

OUR POLICY IS AN OPEN POLICY, A POLICY OF PROLETARIAN PRINCIPLES

From the address to the electors of the electoral zone no. 209 in Tirana

OCTOBER 3, 1974

We are friends with the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples. The imperialist powers and their agencies have laid their fuses and detonators among us to set us squabbling with one another. But to us. the Balkan peoples, these things have become lessons and, in the face of the common danger, even though we may not agree with one another in many respects, we have found and must find a common language. The facts of history cannot be wiped out. When one has been attacked, the other has been attacked, too, by the same enemy. The same enemy has incited one or the other to weaken the

third. The enemies of our peoples and the cliques sold out to them hold the fuse of the powder barrel.

The Albanian, Yugoslav and Greek peoples have never submitted to the foreign invaders. These peoples have no slavish spirit, and they have demonstrated this over and over again throughout the centuries of their history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks are not the kind of people who keep a pistol in their belt just for show when the Americans, the Soviets or anyone else try to attack them and rob them of their freedom and sovereignty. Therefore, however much the two superpowers or their captive «aircraft-carrier» states may day-dream, neither the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece, nor the Albanian people will ever allow themselves to be trodden underfoot by the Soviets, the Americans, or whoever is incited by them.

We have said and we say again to the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece that Albania's borders with them will always be quiet. The enemy will first have to do battle with us Albanians, will be broken here and will hardly reach their borders. We trust that the same will occur from their side towards us.

We want to live free in our countries. The enemies should not think that they would be able to deal with us easily. We Albanians wish the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece well. We must promote our friendship in the way most

suitable to each without interfering in one another's internal affairs, and we must not permit anything within our territories which, for one reason or another, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness. Albania, Yugoslavia and Greece are not only living without the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, but their life is also free and independent. We welcome the efforts of the Greek government to withdraw from NATO. The Greek people did not permit themselves to be trampled underfoot, and anyone who thinks that Washington's departmental secretaries and Moscow's foreign ministers can strike bargains and plots at the expense of the Greek people, is sadly mistaken. The world remembers very well how Greece shed its blood in the fight for freedom, while others looked on and turned their thumbs.

We say to our neighbours that in our country there are and there will be no foreign military bases, but we wish that they, too, would get rid of the foreign military bases in their countries. There is no valid pretext for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted even the right to anchor, to be repaired, or supplied, let alone to have permanent bases in these countries. This is very dangerous both to the country that makes these concessions and to its neighbours. We cannot agree to anyone making such concessions. We have declared our stand towards the presence of aggressive US and Soviet fleets in

the Mediterranean and we remain loyal to and consistent with this policy.

Recently, the flames of war were kindled in Cyprus, too. A fresh threat to peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans was created. The development of events to date shows that the new Cyprus tragedy arose on the background of the Soviet-US rivalry, in the atmosphere of plots and intrigues that the two superpowers, individually or jointly, hatch up against the peoples. The US imperialists seek to establish themselves politically and militarily on the island, while the social-imperialists want to fish in troubled waters. They are taking advantage of the situation to revive the old Turkish-Greek feuds and to create conditions which will facilitate their expansion or justify their intrusion.

The problems of Cyprus are numerous and are certainly not easy to resolve, but we are of the opinion that the Cypriot people, Greek and Turk, are able and have the possibilities to decide their own future, free from outside pressure and on the basis of their sovereign interests. Cyprus is an independent and sovereign state, a member of the United Nations and recognized by the majority of the world's states. It should remain so, and nobody has the right to attack it under any pretext at all, to meddle in its internal affairs and to impose solutions which do not conform to the freely expressed will of the Cypriot people.

A YOUNG COMMISSAR OF THE LIGHT

Ilia Nikollë Qiqi, a young teacher from the ranks of the minority, fell while performing his duty, putting the general interest above everything. On October 30, 1974, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania awarded him the title «Hero of Socialist Labour». Comrade Enver Hoxha sent Ilia's family in Zervat of Gjirokastra this letter:

Dear parents, sisters and brothers of Ilia,

I express to you my profound grief and send you my heartfelt condolences upon the death of your dear son and brother, a loyal son of our people.

The death of Ilia is a heavy blow, because it suddenly removed him from his family and the bosom of society in the flower of his youth, as he was taking the first steps in life to serve the

Party, the people and his Homeland, his socialist Albania, with devotion. Nevertheless, this sad event also arouses a sense of pride, because the decision he took to return to his post from Burrel to the village of Lis without losing time, in order to give lessons to the pupils whom he loved and who loved him so much, is a lofty example of socialist consciousness at work.

I am informed that Ilia was diligent and closely linked with his job. Although he had not been serving long as a teacher in Lis of Mat, with his good attitude and behaviour he quickly won the trust, love and respect of his comrades who had elected him secretary of the youth organization of the school.

Transforming the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Party into profound conviction, this young commissar of the light, as our people call their teachers, died never to be forgotten by his young pupils, his comrades, his family and the entire Homeland, which he loved so much.

I have been deeply moved, both by the brave stand you took on receiving the sad news and the warm words you expressed about our dear Party in the letter you sent me, and by the decision you took so quickly to send your other son and his other brother, Stefan,(**1**)to continue Ilia's task, replacing him immediately in the post in which he served.

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1 Stefan Qiqi went to Lis as a teacher in place of his brother; through his exemplary work he became a member of the Party of Labour of Albania.

This is a lofty and meaningful gesture. The dispatch from Dropull of another member of your family to work in Burrel, expresses with the clarity of light that ardent patriotism and pure sense of socialist brotherhood which the Party embues day by day in our people. It is a great satisfaction that sons and daughters of the minority people go voluntarily and happily to every part of the country, because they are conscious that today their Homeland is the whole of Albania, that socialism is being built everywhere, in the South and the North, and that every citizen finds happiness not only in his birthplace but all over the territory of our People's Republic.

Standing close to you in spirit, together with condolences I also send you my warm greetings and hope that after this, you will always have joy, happiness and success at work. I send Stefan my heart-felt congratulations on the readiness which he displayed and wish him good health and good results in the fine task of a teacher for the communist education of the younger generation.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, October 30, 1974

WEDNESDAY
SEPTEMBER 10, 1975

AN 8-YEAR SCHOOL IS OPENED AT KËRRA

The people of the minority village of Kërra of Upper Dropull informed me by telegram that they are celebrating an important event in their history, the opening of the new 8-year school. I will send them a telegram of congratulations.

BETTER DAYS FOR YOUR MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

Telegram sent to the people of Kërra village, Upper Dropull, Gjirokastra

Dear comrades, brothers and sisters of Kërra,

Thank you for the telegram you sent me in which you inform me that on September 1 you celebrated the opening of the 8-year school. (**1**) This is a great joy for you, because from now on, your children will complete their 8-year schooling within the village. This is a great joy for me, too, because I know your village and know the difficult life you led in the not very remote gloomy past.

But better days came for the industrious inhabitants of your mountain village, as for all

1 Up till 1975, the school-children of Kërra village, after completing the lower cycle of the 8-year school in their village, went to another village to attend the higher cycle.

the villages of the minority and our whole country. Since that great day, November 29, 1944, the inhabitants of the minority, including you, have been living free, and on the basis of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, enjoying full rights, equally with the whole Albanian people, in their dear socialist Homeland. That is why, dear brothers and sisters of Kërra, the people of the minority swear allegiance to the Party, and like the whole of the Albanian people, are working tirelessly for the construction of socialism, are vigilant day and night for the defence of the Homeland and live happily.

Your village, too, included in the agricultural cooperative of Vrisera, is progressing every day. Through your own work you have long been self-sufficient in bread grain. Your zone is prospering. In Upper Dropull more than 110 teachers give lessons, more than 40 medical cadres, with hospitals, outpatient clinics, pharmacies, nursing homes, etc., come to the aid of the residents of your mountainous zone. Now your children grow up healthy. From now on, they will complete their 8-year schooling within the village, and those of them who prove most diligent at their lessons, have possibilities to go to nearby Bularat to attend the agricultural secondary school. Many many sons and daughters of the minority have studied or are still studying in the secondary and higher schools of the country and one rejoices immensely at the great desire of many of

them who want to go back to your beautiful villages to increase production and build socialism.

The new, happy life in our country did not come automatically but through struggle, through toil and great sacrifices. Like the whole of Dropull, like all the minority and the Albanian people, in steel unity and united like true brothers, under the leadership of the Party, you have made your contribution both to the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, and to all the blessings which we enjoy today. The victories achieved have their source in the unity of the people around the Party, therefore we must constantly safeguard and strengthen this unity, against which all the enemies of our Homeland, whether internal or external, the beys, aghas, the capitalists, and traitors, have broken their noses, just as will occur with the imperialists, revisionists or anyone else who aims to encroach upon even an inch of our dear soil which is being beautified every day through our work.

In sharing your joy, I express my conviction that your new 8-year school which is being opened, along with all the other educational, cultural, health and other institutions which are embellishing the whole of your zone, will become a revolutionary centre in which your children will be imbued with knowledge and education, with the teachings of our Party so as to become fighters and ardent patriots, tireless workers for the prosperity of your village and your coopera-

tive, to raise the yields in agriculture and live-stock-farming, in fruit-growing and forestry even higher, so that your life and that of the whole Albanian people will become ever better through tireless work.

On this occasion, I send my best wishes to all of you, brothers, sisters and children of Kërra, and wish you from the bottom of my heart a happy life and success in the honorable accomplishment of all your tasks.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, September 13, 1975

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 19, 1975

THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY RECOGNIZED IN OUR CONSTITUTION ARE NOT JUST FORMAL

I have learned that in filling in the personal details of his documents as a Party member, the occasional communist of the minority has given his nationality as Albanian. Such a thing is not correct, indeed, it is a political mistake and anti-Marxist. The Party and our Constitution recognize the rights of the minority not formally but concretely. Therefore, they have been given all the rights which belong to them, including schools, the newspaper and the radio in their own language, etc.

If there really is some such case it should be corrected immediately.

I shall talk about this matter today with the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party.

TUESDAY

NOVEMBER 25, 1975

EARTHQUAKE IN SOME MINORITY VILLAGES

A number of minority villages in the district of Saranda have been struck by an earthquake. It has caused damage and distress. I sent a letter to the people of the villages affected by this calamity.

THE WHOLE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ARE BESIDE THE BROTHERS OF THE MINORITY

Letter sent to the people of the villages of Dhivra, Cerkovica, Shëndre, Memoraq. etc.

Saranda

Dear brothers and sisters.

During these days when our whole people, united to a man, are working tirelessly to celebrate the great anniversaries of November with the targets of the last year of the 5th Five-year Plan fulfilled, we received the unexpected bad news about the earthquake which struck your villages and households. The damage and grief, which this natural calamity has caused you now, on the verge of winter, has been felt deeply everywhere by the whole Party and the Albanian people all over the Homeland.

At these difficult moments, all our people, the Party and its Central Committee feel them-

selves beside you and share with you the distress which the earthquake caused, just as they share your joys and blessings.

As soon as I received the sad news about what has occurred to you, I gave orders to the government to send you emergency aid immediately and at the same time take measures so that within the month of December all the houses made uninhabitable are rebuilt, while the damaged houses are repaired within the same time limit.

It has now become a tradition in socialist Albania that misfortunes are overcome together and the hardships lightened and eliminated quickly. This is what happened in 1967 in the districts of Dibra and Librazhd, so it was 2 years later in 1969 in a number of districts of the South, and this is what is occurring with you, too. The socialist Homeland and the people suffer when a part of it is in difficulties, the hearts of all beat in unison and feel in the same way, therefore I am convinced that what has occurred to you will in no way cause you to despair. In our country, under the leadership of the Party, we work and live with the motto, «All for one and one for all», so people work with complete confidence and with all their might to carry the socialist construction ceaselessly forward and ensure the defence of the victories achieved from any enemy.

Those gloomy times for the people, when in such cases those affected by a grave disaster

were left in poverty and hardship for the rest of their lives, have gone once and for all. The Albanian people overthrew the feudal-bourgeois order once and for all, and established their own state power which they are strengthening from day to day and defending from any enemy.

Dear brothers and sisters, boys and girls, children of families affected by the earthquake, on this occasion I send all of you the warmest greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and my own personal greetings, and I assure you that we will be beside you there in our minds and hearts until all the houses ruined or damaged are completely restored.

I express the conviction that the communists of your district and the volunteers from all over Albania will be together with you on the most difficult fronts for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in the shortest possible time, just as the Party has taught them.

Once again I wish you success in overcoming this misfortune and eliminating the consequences it brought as quickly as possible.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, November 25, 1975

WE ALBANIANS WANT OUR POLICY WITH THE GREEK STATE TO BE A REALISTIC, FRIENDLY AND LASTING POLICY

NOVEMBER 1, 1976

Speaking at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which began its work in Tirana on November 1, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed the line and stands of our Party over many problems of international political life. Among other things, he dwelt on the relations of our country with Greece.

In regard to the relations with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish

to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

We realize that the present Greek government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end to the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascists and German nazis.

We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and lasting policy between our two peoples. As for the monarcho-fascists and the crazy self-styled «Northern Epirotes» who, from time to time, seek to create a tense atmosphere in the relations between our two countries with their absurd claims, we wish to say that their cries have brought only laughter from the Greek minority living happily in Albania. We tell them: Carry on, if you wish, with your old trade of styling yourselves «Northern Epirotes», because neither we nor the Greek minority in Albania have anything to fear from you, since the Albanians and the Greek minority are closely linked with each other like brothers.

We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

SATURDAY
APRIL 23, 1977

ABOUT SOME PROPOSALS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

Recently the Greek government has made some proposals in connection with relations with our country. On these proposals I expressed the following opinions to the comrades: We can accept the proposal on the establishment of the Athens-Tirana airline, because it is in our interest, too.

In regard to border problems we should ask the Greeks, first, to allow us to repair the marker pyramids and, second, that they abrogate their law on «the state of war with Albania». Such a situation is absurd, because now we have diplomatic relations with Greece. Even before these relations the existence of this law was a great absurdity, because Albania has never been in a state of war with Greece. It was fascist Italy that attacked Greece, and not Albania. With the Greek people we have always been friends.

In regard to the question of opening the

border point at Kakavia, I think that at the moment this could be used as a transit point for Greek personalities, the ambassador, ministers, or scientists, who want to cross by car through Kakavia.

MONDAY
MAY 23, 1977

ETHNOGRAPHIC SCIENCE SHOULD BECOME A BRILLIANT MIRROR OF OUR FOLK CULTURE

Today I visited the exhibition *Albanian Folk Culture* which was opened on the occasion of the Conference of Ethnographic Studies. Comrades Aleks Buda (**1**) and Stefanaq Pollo (**2**) welcomed me and informed me about the work done for the opening of this exhibition. They showed me round and explained the various objects displayed. During my visit I exchanged a number of opinions with them about ethnographic science as a brilliant mirror of our folk culture.

In front of the stands where the Albanian **xhubleta** (**3**) *was displayed the following dialogue took place between Comrade Enver Hoxha*

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1 Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania.

2 Director of the Institute of History.

3 Typical Albanian dress, without sleeves, with a narrow waist and flaring skirt.

and comrades Aleks Buda and Stefanaq Pollo about the **fustanella** *which is widespread in Greece, too:*

COMRADE STEFANAQ POLLO: This is the *xhubleta*, Comrade Enver.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Of course, you have read Mayani's book. I don't intend to discuss the scientific credibility of it, but if you have read it carefully you will recollect that he speaks about a part of the Etruscan dress as the same as our *xhubleta*. In fact, the similarity between them is so great that it seems as if that kind of dress is a present-day *xhubleta* cut at those times.

I have read in an article somewhere that our *fustanella* was long and that the Greeks shortened it. Indeed, lately we, too, have shortened it somewhat in comparison with the *fustanella* of earlier times. At present there are two kinds of *fustanella* in our country, long and short.

COMRADE ALEKS BUDA: There are historical documents which prove that in old times with the great migration of the Arbëreshi or Arvanites, which took place in the 14th century, the *fustanella* became widespread especially in those zones where that population settled, whence it subsequently crossed over to Greece. This is the reason that our *fustanella* is found both in Greece and in other zones.

COMRADE NEXHMIJE HOXHA: Yet there

are some among us who think that we have adopted this form of dress from the Greeks.

COMRADE ALEKS BUDA: Yes, yes, that is what they think. But consider this, for example. What we call the costume of women of Dropull, in fact has deep roots in Albanian ethnographic traditions. In Greece itself it is used in the regions inhabited by Arvanites.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I have a number of books of history written some time ago by Athenian scholars. There they speak about us and, with great sympathy, about the role and participation of Albanians in the revolution which took place in Greece in 1821. They also contain documents which show that Ypsilanti appealed to the Albanians: «Albanians, arise, let us unite against the Ottoman Empire!»

I mentioned these things in order to emphasize that there are honest and progressive people in Greece.

SUNDAY
JUNE 19, 1977

THE VISIT OF OUR ENSEMBLE TO GREECE WILL HELP TO STRENGTHEN THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES

I was very pleased that our ambassador to Athens was able to secure the permission of the Greek authorities to send to Greece our State Song and Dance Ensemble made up of 80 people. Likewise, the Greeks will send an ensemble of theirs comprising 60 people to our country. In my opinion this is a very good thing, because it will help to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples, irrespective of the difference between our regimes.

Our Ensemble is going to Greece with very fine aims, with the sincere intention of showing the fraternal Greek people the progress of our country and our people who are building socialism, which we do not impose on any one. Let the Greek people see what great forces the Party and our socialist regime have created, how the folk art and culture of our country have dev-

eloped with such a great variety, with such fine taste, with exemplary manliness and honesty, which stands out in every word, every song and every dance. Let them see the ability of our people, their skill and patriotism, let them see our internationalist feelings and the special friendship which we nurture for the fraternal Greek people and our desire to live in friendship with each other.

Hence, the purpose of the visit of our Folk Song and Dance Ensemble to Greece has very great importance for us. We know, too, that the purpose of the visit of the Greek ensemble, which will come to Albania, is to show our people the development of modern Greek art and culture.

As we are seeing, for some time positive propaganda about our country is being carried on in Greece. This is being done by friends of our country and progressive elements. They organize conferences, parties, and shows of Albanian films. They buy these films and like them very much because, irrespective of the fact that the capitalist order exists in Greece, when they see our beautiful films which show the unsullied life and conscience and the vigorous, revolutionary development of our youth, even elements of the conservative bourgeoisie say: «These are films for the education of the youth.» Therefore, our films have made a great impression among progressive Greek elements.

Undoubtedly, the visit of our Folk Song and Dance Ensemble to Greece will create even

greater sympathy and enthusiasm than our films have created there, because in Athens, Salonica, Piraeus and wherever else the Greeks agree that our Ensemble can go, they will see with their own eyes our people singing and dancing, will understand the words and the content of the songs, and this will truly make a great impression. Therefore, we must make preparations to ensure that we accomplish this undertaking in the service of the friendship of our two peoples, in the best possible way.

POGRADEC, SATURDAY
AUGUST 6, 1977

THE CHAUVINIST VIEWS OF A YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR

In a talk which the Yugoslav ambassador in Athens had with our ambassador he told him: «I have heard that the Greeks are preparing to hold a congress of Greek Macedonians in Salonica. We are not pleased about this, because we are very touchy about such things and do not want the Greeks to hold such congresses with the Macedonians.»

The question arises: **Why should the Greeks not hold such congresses with their Macedonian citizens who are in Greece, while the Yugoslav chauvinists allegedly have the right to keep in bondage 1,800,000 Albanians for whom all those difficult situations are being created? Many of them have been interned in concentration camps, have been forcibly moved to Turkey, they are not allowed to learn their mother tongue, etc., etc.** Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists allegedly have the right to set their propagandists working against the People's Republic of Albania and to

go on preparing such things even now? They think that they can hold congresses with the national minorities who live in Yugoslavia, while others must not do similar things. This stand, of course, speaks of the chauvinist views of the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslav chauvinists want to create Greater Yugoslavia; they want the Greeks to recognize that the Macedonians who live in Greece are part of the population of the Macedonian Republic within the Yugoslav Federation. Likewise, they are demanding that the Bulgarians, too, recognize that they have a Macedonian minority in Pirin, so that at some time the Yugoslavs can extend their borders to take in these Macedonians and even to take Salonica. When it comes to thinking that the Albanian territories in Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians should be returned to Albania, this is not to the advantage of the Serb or Yugoslav chauvinists. Indeed, the Serb and Yugoslav chauvinists go to extraordinary lengths to restrict even the cultural relations which Albania maintains with Kosova. They take our ensembles to put on performances in some halls where they are able to assemble audiences made up only of their own supporters. For example, the Yugoslav chauvinists have not permitted our «Çerçiz Topulli» Ensemble, invited to the Ohri Festival, to put on its performances in Struga. This arbitrary stand caused such a great scandal that the Yugoslavs were obliged to beg our pardon for this disgraceful act they committed in Struga.

The Macedonian leaders are showing themselves more catholic than the Pope, more chauvinist than the Serbs. At present they are behaving towards the Albanians with dreadful and disgraceful arrogance, in such an insulting and revolting way that, of course, the Albanians of Macedonia will not easily forget it.

This makes one think that the statement of the Yugoslav chauvinist ambassador in Athens was made for chauvinist purposes.

DURRËS, TUESDAY
AUGUST 16, 1977

A PLEASANT CONCERT BY THE GREEK ARTISTIC ENSEMBLE «MARINELLA»

I watched the television broadcast of the performance of the Greek Ensemble called «Marinella» after the main singer of the ensemble. It was a beautiful concert, and the audience liked it. I say this because I saw and heard the many long bursts of warm applause during the performance. All of us, Nexhmije, other members of our family and I, all liked this concert.

I especially liked the performance of the artist Marinella. She was really a talented singer, had a very pleasant and harmonious voice and was obviously a great artist, because she sang very freely and with great expression. When you hear a song sung by her, even if you don't understand the Greek language at all, the impression is created that you understand the content of the song.

Most of the songs which this artist sang were about love, but there were also songs with

social themes. She sang about the miserable life of miners, the life of the poor sailors of Piraeus, etc. Another singer of the ensemble sang about the grave emigration which exists in the country across our southern border.

The ensemble's orchestra also had a high artistic level and accompanied the singer beautifully during the performance. I was especially impressed with the artist who performed on the buzuki. He was a great master of this instrument. He interpreted the Greek folk song with rare talent.

Overall, I think the performance of the Greek Ensemble «Marinella» will help to strengthen the friendly relations between the Albanian people and the Greek people. Art plays a great role in bringing peoples together and getting to know one another, because every artistic performance reflects the spirit, characteristics, feelings, aspirations and desires of the people. Naturally, when these are expressed realistically, with warmth, and when they are interpreted with artistic skill they leave deep impressions in the audiences and arouse and enrich the friendly feelings of these peoples.

SUNDAY
AUGUST 21, 1977

A PEOPLE WITH A RICH AND VARIED FOLKLORE

I have learned that a group of art and literary critics have written a letter in connection with the Greek artistic Ensemble «Marinella» which gave performances in our country. In general, the authors of the letter do not speak badly about this ensemble, but say that «it did not have sufficient folk songs presented properly, and did not represent the folklore of the Greek people». In other words, they criticize our interested institutions for this.

Their criticism is not correct from the political aspect, either. The coming of the Greek ensemble to Albania has a political character, and of course, the political aspect is linked with the artistic aspect of the ensemble. These literary-artistic «critics» ought to know that our relations with Greece are steadily improving at present. This does not mean that Greece has become a socialist state. No, but in this situation, Greece's interests and ours require that the ice should be

melted, with us, of course, standing firmly on our positions of principle. Our state is interested in maintaining good neighbourly relations with Greece and these relations include cultural relations, too. These people ought to know that there are elements in Greece who are doing a great deal for Albania, I mean to say, that they are doing very good propaganda for our country. At present, the Greek newspapers write about Albania and publish our articles, Albanian films are shown there etc., etc. This is a very good thing.

In these conditions we agreed that the Greek side should send an artistic group, and we, likewise, will send one of our artistic groups, indeed, much larger than the one that came from Greece, and this the Greek government has accepted. Hence, from the political aspect, this is a success.

In Greece, today, there is propaganda in favour of socialist Albania and an admiring stand is taken towards our country and we are convinced that the Greek people love Albania. Nevertheless, we know that the monarcho-fascists and the Vorio-Epirotes, with their policy of «megali idhea», have not died, but at present these reactionary trends are cowering under cover because the Greek government is interested in having good relations with us.

Our embassy in Athens has certainly talked with the Greek side about the coming of the Greek ensemble to our country, and has suggested to them that it would be good if the ensemble included as many folk pieces as possible,

because we want it to have complete success in our country and strengthen friendship in this way. This is all we could do in this direction, whereas, according to these «clever people», we have not done enough. This is one aspect, the political aspect of the question, but even if we see it from the artistic aspect, it seems to me that these critics do not have adequate knowledge about Greek art and folklore.

Although I am not well informed about the situation of this folklore, from my reading about the history of the Greek people I can say a few words about the development of their art and culture.

On the basis of what I know, I can state with certainty that Greece, like our country, has a rich and varied folklore. Our people preserve their traditions of this great heritage and the Greek people, likewise, preserve their own heritage and traditions to some degree. But while folklore is developing very vigorously in our country, it does not have the same development in Greece, because modernist influences have entered into the life of its people. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Greek folklore has disappeared. As far as I know, Greek folklore is closely linked, in the main, with religion and the church, therefore, the folk songs and dances are performed in Greece mostly during religious festivals at churches and monasteries. The liturgy plays a role in this folklore and when we speak about these traditions of Greek folklore,

according to the literature that I have read, the religious influence cannot be avoided.

In Greece, on holidays or Sundays, the lanes, the streets and the squares are filled with people and the smell of roast lamb and the wine flavoured with pine resin comes from the houses. On these holidays the people dance, the women dressed in colourful traditional costumes, with wide sleeves, with white headkerchiefs, etc., etc. It must be realized that the Greeks are traditionalists, too. In the villages on the heights of Parnasus, for example, at Rahova near Delphi, folklore festivals are held every year, dedicated, for example, to St. George and others. There are songs and dances about the dragons, songs to the valiant deeds of Apollo, St. Nicholas, and so on, while in their modern folklore they have given the appearance of St. Ilias to Zeus, the greatest god of the Greeks. They preserve, for example, the traditions of Mycenae in crete, but always linked with the church. In the small cathedrals of Crete they even make sacrifices.

In Euboea, in Attica, and in Peloponnesus, too, to some extent, the folklore traditions are preserved, but not to the extent that they are preserved to the northwest of Greece, where there is a development of folklore in the same forms and to the same extent as in our villages. Although the old folk instruments have begun to disappear in the Greek villages, there are still admirers of folklore who preserve the folk songs and dances.

I have read that the folklore ballet troupe, which is called «Dora Stratou», preserves the folk songs and dances and has created a number of dances through which, even in our time, the glorious past of the Greek people can be seen. I have read, for example, that one of the beautiful dances of valour, which is practised in Greek folklore, is that which is called «Pyrrhic». There are heroic songs and others in Greek folklore which are some of the most beautiful that the Greek folk genius has created. These are sung accompanied on the lyre and are dedicated to the valiant deeds of Greek warrior leaders in the war against the Ottomans.

However, it seems to me that at present the songs of outlaws and the songs of brave men have been neglected in Greece. Only in the villages or bars, the peasants or workers after work sing folk songs with slow rhythms with a glass of ouzo and the plate of *kukurec* on the table before them.

It was not right for us to be dissatisfied by the folklore presented to us by the «Marinella» ensemble.

We can say that the Greek orchestra of the «Marinella» ensemble, which gave performances in our country, was warmly welcomed, because its songs and dances were melodious and contained the griefs, love and the hopes of the Greek people. In my opinion, from what I know of Greek art, from readings and paintings, the songs were interpreted very beautifully, first of all,

by the main artist, Marinella herself, who through the songs, with her mimicry and gestures, resembled the choirs and dancers of ancient times, presented artistically in the dramas of Aeschylus, Aristophanes and other great Greek writers, which were performed in the amphitheatres of Delphi, Dodona, in the Panthenon of Athens and elsewhere. The graceful movements of the fingers, hands and arms of this Greek artist were precisely like the monuments of the time of Praxiteles, Pericles, the monuments of Venus, Aphrodite and the *Victory* of Samothrace. I watched the performance of songs by this outstanding artist with an attentive eye and I thought of the famous Greek art.

The interpretation played a main role in the high level of the presentation of the folk songs and dances, but their social content was not bad. either. Marinella sang two or three love songs. And she did well. Don't our folk singers, artists and our people sing love songs? Of course, they do and so they should. The Party recommends that love songs should be sung, because without love life does not exist. Besides love songs, the Greek ensemble also sang to the boat which sank in the Aegean. The melodious song of the bearded sailor gave the proper intonation of the misfortune which had occurred. It has come to my ears that some «critic» has said it would have been better had he not had a beard. But such a critic ought to know that the singer was not a hippy, and he ought to remember that when the

ship is sinking the sailor on the Aegean or the Mediterranean has no time to pretty himself up, to shave and powder his chin.

The other dancers, too, for example, the dance accompanied with the song «The Boys of Pyraeus», were interpreted very well and not «boogy-woogy», as was said. The same thing can be said about the folk song accompanied with the buzuki which was a masterpiece of Greek folklore. The song of emigration and others also had a social content and were very moving.

For all these reasons we can say that the «Marinella» ensemble was well chosen, our people liked it and it made a good impression.

To tell the truth, I was sorry to hear that when this ensemble gave its first performance, which was a very good one, some of the many cadres present apparently did not like the fact that Marinella wiggled her shoulders to a jazz rhythm, which imitated the dances of African peoples.

In the performances of our folk ensembles, too, the girls wiggle their shoulders. Then, why don't these people criticize our dancers for such things but criticize Marinella's gesture, which, as I have been told, was not as the critics have pretended. She struck her waist and her hips with a tambourine. What are these people going to do if an ensemble from some African country, say from Uganda or Tanzania, wants to come to put on performances here, when their music and dances are not like ours at all? Our state

will certainly agree to their coming and we should applaud their folklore, because it expresses the aspirations of those peoples, their struggle and culture.

Every people has its own culture. We have our culture, they have theirs, but we ought to take what is good from the culture of foreigners and if they want, let them take what they like from our culture. We are internationalists and we see matters from the Marxist-Leninist angle, which means you must in no way be conservative, sectarian or liberal.

In art, there must be consideration of the political aspect at the same time. As I have been told, not only the performances but also the political stand of the ensemble was very progressive and full of admiration for our country. Wherever they went, they expressed warm gratitude for the cordial reception which our people gave them in Korça and elsewhere.

SATURDAY
OCTOBER 15, 1977

THE REMAINS OF THE OUTSTANDING PATRIOT, HASAN PRISHTINA, WILL BE BROUGHT BACK TO THE HOMELAND

I am pleased with the news that the Greek government has permitted us to take the remains of the outstanding Albanian patriot, Hasan Prishtina. We must exhume them as quickly as possible and bring them back to the Homeland. Next, we must prepare solemn reception and burial for the remains of this outstanding patriot of the Albanian nation. People should be assembled at all the places through which his remains pass. This should be done in Tirana, too. Speeches must be delivered, articles prepared, and finally, the coffin with his remains should pass through Puka and be buried in Kukës.

I think that people from Kosova, also, should be invited to take part in this burial. We can and should especially invite members of his family, too, if there are any.

GJIROKASTRA, WEDNESDAY
MARCH 22, 1978

A VERY WARM MEETING WITH THE BROTHERS OF DROPULL

For some days I have been visiting the district of Gjirokastra. Today, at the centre of the higher-type cooperative of Grapsh I had a very warm and fraternal meeting with the people of the zone of Dropull. Despite the heavy rain which was falling, thousands of the minority people had come to take part in the meeting.

I greeted those present in the name of the Party and on my own personal behalf. After speaking about the hardships which the people of the zone of Dropull, like all our people, suffered in the past under the anti-popular regimes, about the great all-round successes which they have achieved today thanks to their own work and struggle, the leadership of the Party and the aid of the people's state power in all fields of life, as well as about the better future which awaits them, I went on to speak about some problems which have to do with their mother

tongue and culture. I called upon them to preserve and develop the Greek language, the mother tongue of the minority people.

I spoke also of a number of current events of international life, as well as about the friendship, relations and mutual sympathy between our people and the Greek people. I told the people of Dropull that we love the Greek people because they are an honourable, intelligent people who have fought for their own freedom and independence. We have fought together with the fraternal Greek people in the past and in modern times. In regard to the friendship between our two peoples I said that it is cemented with the blood shed for freedom and independence against the same enemies.

The present Greek government is in favour of improving relations with Albania and they are improving. This has always found the approval of the Albanian people and the Albanian government. On this occasion I stressed that we are neighbours with Greece, that no harm can come to Greece from our side, and that the Greek people know this. The sentiments of the Greek people and the Albanian people are in accord. Each wishes the other well, of course, with each of them attending to his own affairs, in his own country.

Through continuous cheering those present at the meeting expressed their love for the Party of Labour and their determination to proceed on. the road of socialist construction.

OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE IS CONNECTED WITH THE BLOOD SHED IN THE WAR FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE AGAINST THE SAME ENEMIES

From the speech delivered at the rally of the people of Dropull region, at Grapsh

MARCH 22, 1978

Dear comrades, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters of Dropull,

I am very happy to be here with you. It is rainy weather today and we have got wet, but this does not stop us holding our meeting. We were not afraid of the machine-guns, the mortars or the cannon of the enemy, therefore, we have no reason to be afraid of thunder and rain.

*Efkharisto poli! Ego, o Enveris, dhen kséro elinika.** I regret that I did not learn the beautiful

* Thank you very much! I, Enver, do not know Greek (Greek in the original).

Greek language when I was at school. When I say that I did not learn Greek, I have in mind that I was unable to read in the original language the works of Homer, Sophocles, Aristotle, Democritus, those great scholars and philosophers of the immortal Greek culture which have interested me greatly when I have read them in the French and the Albanian languages.

*Tora kala,** I am speaking in Albanian because the Albanian language, also, is beautiful, it is the language of the Albanian people, of our common Homeland, of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

First, I want to express my heartfelt thanks for your coming here, because I have been longing to get together with you. I have not seen you for a long time, but in my mind and heart I have always remembered you and felt close to you. I have followed with close attention the work and achievements of all the minority and the district of Gjirokastra.

The Greek minority and the Albanian people, especially the people of the district of Gjirokastra, have been and are bound together like flesh to bone and have always loved and supported one another. Of course, here I am not referring to the villainous beys and aghas of Gjirokastra who were enemies of the people, but I am speaking of the poor people of Dropull and

* Well, now (Greek in the original).

Gjirokastra who have been beside one another throughout history.

I remember Uncle Miho, a poor old man from the minority, short and slight in stature and with all the marks of poverty, who used to bring to our home a donkey loaded with maize. When poor old Miho brought us that little bit of maize we were immensely happy. *«Ela dho, pedhi mu!»** he would say to me, lift me on to his *gajdhuri*** and then produce from his tattered baggy pants two small watermelons. «Take them laddie,» he would say, *«dhen ehome, tipota dhen ehome.»****

Our love for the people of the minority has never faded, it was steeled with the creation of the Communist Party of Albania and during the National Liberation War. Our Party, formed by the sons of Albania and the minority, struggled to ensure that the unity and love between us would grow stronger and stronger for centuries.

Albanians and people from the minority fought and sacrificed themselves together during the National Liberation War and triumphed. They won Albania and made it theirs. Just as they drove out the foreigners, they settled accounts with the aghas and the beys and placed power in the hands of the people, so that they could establish their own law and build that

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* Come here laddie (Greek in the original).

** Donkey (Greek in the original).

*** We have nothing, nothing (Greek in the original).

society for which they had suffered and poured out their blood and sweat. The people, with their glorious Party at the head, set up their people's state power and built the socialist society which we enjoy today.

From the first days of Liberation the Party thought that it had to make the whole Albanian people conscious of the tasks which faced them and to create those possibilities so that, step by step, the productive forces would be developed and the new relations between people in production would be built, with the aim that the life of the country would be improved and advanced. And time proved that the Party thought correctly.

The Party gave the orientation that the leading branch in the economy should be industry, but agriculture should remain the basis. Therefore, it instructed that importance should always be given to agriculture. What did it mean to give importance to agriculture? This meant that the peasants should be given the land, because it belonged to them and no one else. For this purpose, the Land Reform was carried out. Then, the Party said: Are we going to leave these fields as they were before? No. we are not going to leave them like that, but will make them fertile, drain the swamps, build canals so we can water the land, bring in machinery and later build fertilizer factories, increase the livestock and extend fruit-growing. The Party said these things and all of us, trusting

what it said, set to work. And you, the people of Dropull, were among the heroic peasants of socialist Albania who set to work first.

I hope the men of Dropull, for whom I have respect, will excuse me, but it is only right to say that we must take off our hat to the women of Dropull, because it was they who did the work on this land, on these fields. I don't mean to say that the men of Dropull were not hard-working, because in order to earn a livelihood the poor fellows were obliged to suffer all the hardships of emigration. Broken-hearted and with sadness in their souls, they took the road abroad, leaving their young wives and children here. The hope that they might earn something for their families by selling the strength of their muscles abroad, made them roam all over the world. However, their hopes dissolved like salt in water when they saw the consequences of great crises caused by imperialist wars, which made their poverty even greater.

When we established the people's power, right from the first days the Party and the government thought about the development of agriculture on all the plains of Albania, and especially on the plain of Dropull. But why did they think especially about Dropull? Was this because Enver Hoxha, as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, wanted this? No, our attitude towards national minorities was not at all fortuitous, but has its explanation in the fact that our Party has always been guided

by the Marxist-Leninist ideology on the national question, that the Albanians and members of the minority had suffered greatly, indeed the latter had suffered even more than the Albanians, and that the Albanians and the members of the minority fought and triumphed together.

I do not want to number off all those things which the Party has done for the whole of Albania and for Dropull, in particular, because you know these things very well. See, right here, before us, lies this beautiful, fertile plain embellished by the skilful hands of the cooperativists just as the dresses of the women of Dropull are beautifully embroidered. Although there is no sunshine today it is a pleasure for us to look over this beautiful plain of Dropull which is being beautified by our socialist order, the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the Party of Labour of Albania, and the minds and hands of you, brothers and sisters of Dropull.

We are proud when we hear of and see the great progress which your whole zone has made. We are proud when we hear of the high yields you have achieved in wheat, maize, lucerne and tobacco, when we see that here you raise cows which give good quantities of milk and which, thanks to your work and care, will increase their productivity further. The former Dropull, which did not even have manure, because the people of Dropull stacked the animal droppings to dry against the walls and to burn them, is now supplied with fuel, now processes the animal ma-

nure and spreads it on the fields together with chemical fertilizers, for the production of which the Party has built powerful factories.

We are extremely happy that the people of the minority have produced outstanding partisan fighters, heroes and heroines of the people, who have not spared even their lives for the people's freedom. In our days, too, worthy sons have emerged, like Ilia Qiqi and many others, who have given their lives for the construction of socialism. United with the people like flesh to bone, they have gone to the most remote regions of the Homeland and there they have contributed their knowledge which they received in the schools of Dropull, the schools of Gjirokastra and the schools of the whole of Albania.

The communists have worked wholeheartedly to ensure that there are schools in the Greek language in every village of Dropull. As a Marxist-Leninist I say that the Greek language, the mother tongue of the people of the minority, must be preserved and developed. Proletarian internationalism demands this, our Party of Labour of Albania, which always remains unwavering on this principle, demands this, because it is your mother tongue. The children of the minority must learn the Greek language while you adults must not forget it. You should also love the Albanian language, the language of our common socialist Homeland just as much, because your sons and daughters will work and

spread their knowledge not only here, in the minority, but over their Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Albanian language is both necessary and dear to you. I feel a great satisfaction that there is no need to have an interpreter beside me in order to communicate with you, because all of you understand Albanian.

You should love and respect the teachers of the schools in the minority for this great task which they have performed and are performing, because they are the ones who have educated you, who have taught and imbued you since your school days with the lofty ideals of communism, to be patriotic and to love our great socialist Homeland.

Brothers and sisters, it is absolutely essential that the unity around the Party is always like steel. Because only the Party brought us into the light, only the ideology of the Party gave us strength, gave us spirit, gave us courage, opened our eyes and showed us how we had to fight, work, unite with one another and build the new life. And the new life is flourishing in our country. Socialism is being built successfully in our country. The future of Albania will be still more beautiful. It is not our custom to boast, but everyone knows that what our Party says, those plans which are made, are carried out. It is a fact that the plans which are drafted for the development of the economy and culture of Dro-

pull, Gjirokastra, Vlora, Tirana, and so on, are being accomplished successfully.

We must temper the unity of the people with the Party continuously. But how is this tempering done? This is done by thoroughly understanding our ideology, by thoroughly understanding proletarian internationalism, by loving one another sincerely, by combating evil doing and resentments and by standing shoulder to shoulder with one another, as Marx instructed when he wrote in the *Manifesto*, «Proletarians, stand shoulder to shoulder with one another, allow no splits in your ranks and march forward together against the bourgeoisie to crush it!» And the Party teaches us Albanians, too, to keep our ranks closed, to march forward shoulder to shoulder. And by marching forward, socialism is built, the country prospers and people become finer in spirit. This is the road to the happiness of our people and we are building it successfully.

You, comrades of the minority, are intelligent people, you have a correct political understanding of matters and have assimilated the ideology of the Party. I see this not only in general, but concretely, too, in my comrades from the minority who are in the leadership of the Party. The minority cadres work with ability and maturity, they run enterprises and sectors of work of great importance to our country and Party, because they are loyal to this people, loyal to the Party and do not spare even their lives

«I am very happy to be here with you, comrades, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters of Dropull.» Grapsh (March 1978).

«Our love for the people of the minority has never diminished... Our Party, formed by the sons of Albania and of the minority, fought to ensure that the unity and love between us is strengthened and tempered through the centuries.» From the rally organized with the people of the zone of Dropull (March 1978).

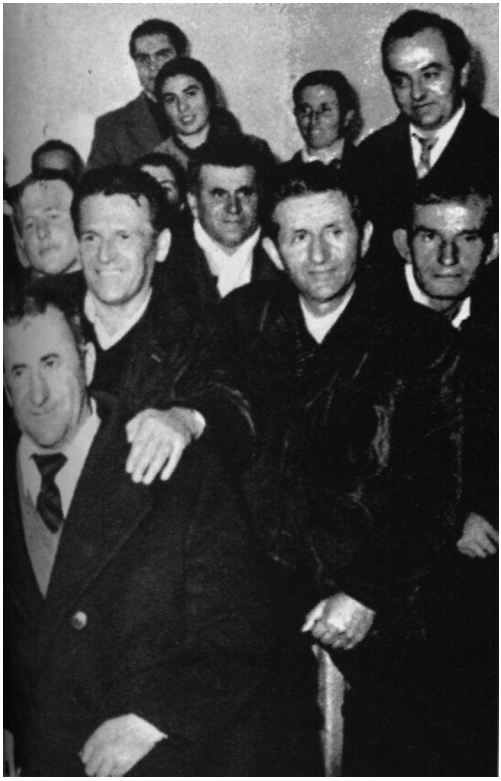
«As a Marxist-Leninist, I say that the Greek language, the mother tongue of the minority people, must be preserved and developed. Proletarian internationalism requires this, our Party of Labour of Albania requires this.»

With the father of the Hero of Socialist Labour, Ilia Qiqi, and the Merited Teacher, Ilia Gazhga, a blind communist from the minority people.

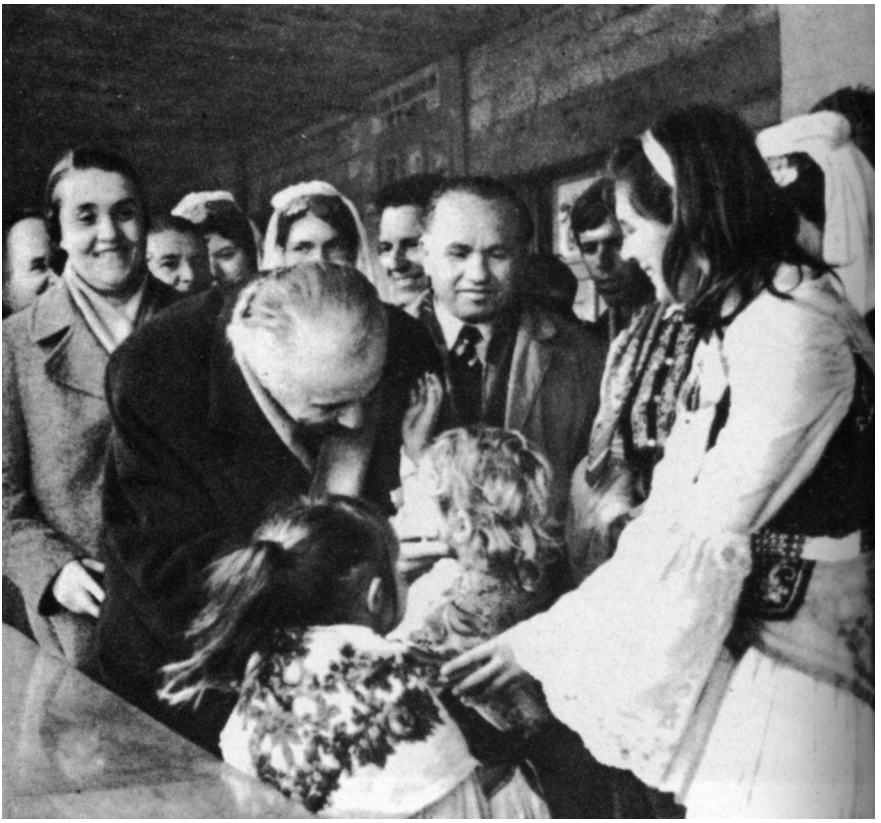
From the meeting with Comrade Vitori Çuri, Vice-Chairman of the Presiding Committee of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at one of the sessions of the People's Assembly.

At the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania. From the meeting with the delegate from the village of Kakavia (June 1979).

«The cadres from the minority people work with skill and maturity. They run enterprises and sectors of work with great importance for our country and Party.»



Grapsh, March 1978.



«How could we fail to toil for the fine life of these little children! They are our loveliest flowers.» Grapsh (March 1979).

for the Homeland, just like their comrades who fell during the war. A number of party cadres from the minority, who are no longer living, have worked loyally and on the Marxist-Leninist road for socialist Albania.

You peasants of the minority, too, have fought for this land, therefore, you love it wholeheartedly and the Party says to you: You should love it wholeheartedly! With all its might the Party will help you to create here not only as much as it has been created already. Don't be satisfied with this, but create greater plenty. Why do I say this? I say this because we are confident in our strength. The people, with the Party at the head, moved mountains, defeated the enemies. Those who occupied and put our country to the torch were many and ferocious, but we defeated them. The enemy spread propaganda that these «boys» would not be able to govern, but our state of workers and peasants trampled down all the enemies who raised their hand against it. We dealt them such crushing blows that they will never recover.

The Party teaches us that everything is built through work, that we must combine work with knowledge. In order to work the land well, in order to raise the livestock well, experience must be combined with knowledge. But these alone are not sufficient, because rain and sunshine are needed besides them. This month we need sunshine, because the land is heavy with rain and we must prepare it for sowing the maize. But

the weather will improve. Look, it seems to me that the sun is coming out now. Nevertheless, we don't make everything wait for the weather, because we are industrious people of great will who can cope even with bad weather conditions. Why can we do this? Because we have great courage and confidence in ourselves, because we have the implements to work with and are equipped with experience and knowledge. We must not neglect the general experience and practice of daily work, because it is from them that science has emerged. It was the great struggle of peoples which enabled Karl Marx to work out his immortal theory which guides the peoples in revolution today.

The Party tells us that in order to advance we must exchange useful experience with one another. This is why groups from all parts of Albania come to you to gain experience and people go from here to other regions of the country. The practical experience of each, combined with knowledge and agro-technical science, carries production forward.

Our life is fine. Our country is going ahead and is impregnable...

The Albanians and the Greek national minority in Albania have always loved the Greek people because they are a clever, kindly and honest people who have fought for their freedom and independence. We have united our weapons with the fraternal Greek people and have fought together in the past and in modern times. Our

great poet, Naim Frashëri, who went to school at the college of Zosimea in Janina, wrote a beautiful poem about the love for and friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people. It is a long poem and I don't remember it well enough to be able to recite it to you here, but you can read it for yourselves. (**1**) At difficult times for the Greek people, the Albanian people have fought in unity with them. The Greek Revolution of 1821, led by captains Alexander Ypsilanti, Theodor Kolokotroni and Bubulina, who was a strong woman, outstanding in the Greek Revolution, was betrayed by all except the Albanians. The Tzar of Russia, the Bulgarians and the Serbs betrayed it, while the Albanians, with Marko Boçari and Xhavella from Suli, fought to the end shoulder to shoulder with their Greek brothers. The resistance of Ypsilanti and Kolokotroni came to an end in Morea where there were the nuclei of old Albanian settlements.

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1 The reference is to the poem *The True Desire of the Albanians*, written in Greek and published in Albanian tor the first time in 1912. In this poem, with a patriotic political spirit, the Albanian national poet, Naim Frashëri, expresses the true sentiments of sincere friendship which the Albanian people have nurtured towards neighbouring peoples and tries to arouse feelings of understanding and friendship among them. The poem includes the lines: «We, with Slavs and Greeks and all our neighbours / Want to live like brothers in perpetual harmony. / But the rights of each must always be respected.» (Naim Frashëri, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1980, p. 486, Alb. ed.)

Arvanítes peneméni,
*Pu íne o Alí Pashás, kayméni?**

As you know Ali Pasha was a feudal lord, but at those moments his interests were at one with the interests of the Greek Revolution. When the «FilikíEtería»(**2**),was formed, Kolokotroni said: Let us invite Ali Pasha to this society.

«Let us invite him,» said Marko Boçari, although Ali had killed the Suliotes.

«He could help us better from outside,» said another.

Many others from Albania fought shoulder to shoulder with the Greeks and the folk song says about them:

You ships that on the seas do sail,
Go to every port of call,
Carry the news to Bubulina
That they've killed brave Qafzezliu.

(Qafzezliu from Kolonja(**3**)Fought with the Greeks for Liberation from the Turks.)

***** Albanian warriors of valiant deed, A new Ali Pasha you need. (Greek in the original).

2 The Society of Friends the aim of which was the organization of the Greek Liberation Revolution.

3 Region in Southern Albania.

And Bubulina replies:

If in battle he'd not been slain,
Beside me as husband he'd have lain.

Our friendship with the Greek people is linked with the blood we have shed together in the struggle for freedom and independence against the same enemies. At present the members of the Greek government declare that they are for improvement of relations with Albania and, in fact, they are being improved. Among the Albanian people and the Albanian government they have always found understanding. We have trade and cultural exchanges with Greece. In just a few days we shall establish the Tirana-Athens airline. Soon, the minister of trade of Greece will come to Albania for the second time in order to sign a trade agreement. These relations are very useful to our two peoples who want to strengthen their friendship and live as good neighbours. No evil can come to Greece from our side and the Greek people know this. Bad things for our peoples could come from the enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples. The sentiments of the Greek people and the Albanian people are in accord, each wishes the other well, of course, each of them attending their own affairs in their own country. We wish to develop our sincere friendship on this basis.

The policy of Albania is displeasing only to those to whom we are a thorn in the flesh, be-

cause we speak the truth, because we are making progress, and because we know how to defend ourselves from the enemy. «Love your friend, but hate your enemy,» is a saying of our people. Things have never turned out well for those who have tried to harm the interests of the Albanian people, because our people have known they must fight fearlessly against such enemies as the fascists and nazis, the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists and so on. The Albanian people, with their Party at the head, have taken all necessary measures for the defence of the country...

I am going to speak briefly about art and culture, too. I am not just trying to please you, but your folk art, your songs and dances are outstanding for their melodiousness, their beautiful rhythm, their elegance, that is, yours is a cultured art. When performers from Dropull appear on the stage, immediately great joy can be seen among the audiences in our theatres. All our folk songs and dances have made fine impressions abroad. You have seen on TV what a very great success our Folk Song and Dance Ensemble scored everywhere in Greece. The Greek people and members of the government have welcomed the State Folk Song and Dance Ensemble of Albania with great kindness and enthusiasm, all of them have been very pleased with our songs and dances and our national costumes, about which poets, writers and artists have written in terms of the warmest praise

in the newspapers and magazines of Greece. A journalist from Athens has written about the characteristics of our dancers, about those qualities which have often been pointed out by foreigners: «When the Albanians dance they are as light as feathers, but the ground trembles under their feet.» Wherever they have gone our young men and women have scored great success. They have given concerts in Yugoslavia, in France, in Sweden and elsewhere, too, and have made very good impressions. Through their skilful performance they have shown the peoples of those countries that socialism develops the marvellous art and culture of the people to a high level.

I congratulate you people of Dropull on the preservation and development of your folk songs and dances and your beautiful costumes. You must preserve them because they are valuable not only to you, but to the whole of socialist Albania. Preserve your folklore, collect it and write it in Greek and translate it into Albanian, too. There are people from the minority who can help greatly in this direction, people like Pano Çuka whose writings I like very much, but there are others, too, who can write. Many of the teachers of the minority have this ability and to them I say, please, collect the legends, songs and folk tales of the people of Dropull, record them, because they are a treasure which belongs to our whole people. They should write the history of these heroic and militant people who have work-

ed, acted and lived in brotherhood with the Albanian people. The hardships and sufferings of our people in the past should be known to our little ones who live in happiness in socialism. The sufferings of our ancestors must not be forgotten, but the value of their work should be known, too. When the younger generation sees the blessings of socialism, if it is not told about the past, there is no way it can learn how its forefathers lived, fought and suffered. Therefore, you must tell the younger generation, first of all, about the fine deeds of their grandparents, fathers and mothers, but also about their sufferings.

I have been told that when the Greek poets and writers who have visited our country have returned to Greece, they have spoken honestly and written sincerely about our reality. They have written that they had been misinformed about the situation of the minority in Albania and that only certain evil persons have spread slanders about the life of the minority people.

Those writers are honest, therefore, they have told the truth, but there are others who, notwithstanding that they are Albanians, are not concerned about their country. Here I am not referring to some individuals who went abroad many years ago, or to the Ballist dogs whom we kicked out, but I am referring to some emigrants who have forgotten their Homeland...

You should write letters to your loved ones about the reality and the blessings which you have here, about the fine life which you lead

here, so that they will be happy, too, and the fog which someone might have in his mind will be cleared away, because there are those who want to spread fog among the Albanian emigrants, so you should write to your relations about the truth as it is here and they will be pleased to hear it.

Oh! I am sorry you are getting so wet. (**4**)

I had something more to say. My desire is to see Dropull and all these hills here above us, below the mountain, planted in fruit and forest trees, all this should be planted in trees.

Dear brothers and sisters,

In the name of the Central Committee once again I wish you all the best. Love the Party wholeheartedly, because it brought us into the light and will bring us even greater blessings. It is the Party that teaches us and arms us, so that we will always have Albania free, make the mountains as beautiful as the plains, have our larders full and bring up our children healthy and happy. When people work hard in socialist society and create plenty, nothing can harm the love between them. The Party and the people are fighting for this love, for this unity based on Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the Party!

Long live the people!

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4 The big rally was held in the open while it rained continously.

A long life to you, dear brothers and sisters, and young pioneers of Upper and Lower Dropull. How could we refuse to work for the fine life of these little children! They are our loveliest flowers.

Long live all the patriotic minority people, who are working in all parts of the socialist Homeland!

Let us send them ardent greetings from Grapsh.

THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY PEOPLE IN ALBANIA ARE FULLY APPLIED

*From the speech delivered at the meeting with cadres of the agricultural cooperatives of Vrisera and Grapsh (**1**)*

MARCH 22, 1978

The patriotism of the people of the zone of Dropull is great, a socialist patriotism. At the meeting which I attended a few days ago with cadres in Gjirokastra, a comrade put it correctly when he said that chauvinism in the relations between the people of the minority and the Albanian people has long been eliminated. I agreed with his judgement and said that in our country there would never be either Greek chauvinism or Albanian chauvinism. There is no reason why

1 Comrade Enver Hoxha held this meeting after the rally of the people of the zone of Dropull.

Dropull should be different from Gjirokastra, Vlora or Shkodra. The time has gone when the Albanian people were oppressed by feudalism, by the despot Ahmet Zog, by the beys and aghas who also oppressed the minority population.

The warm words of those who spoke at that meeting express very well the sentiments of the heroic people of the minority whose hearts beat with the same rhythm as the hearts of all our people. We Albanians and people of the minority are an indivisible whole. I am utterly certain that no minority in any other state in the world enjoys the rights which the minority enjoys in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Other genuine socialist countries which apply a Leninist policy towards their national minorities, no longer exist in the world. For purposes of demagogy, the bourgeois and revisionist constitutions proclaim the equality of rights of national minorities, but in fact real equality does not exist. Only in Albania, where Marxism-Leninism is applied consistently, are the equal rights of the minority with the rest of the population fully guaranteed.

There are national minorities in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary and elsewhere, but even when those countries were considered socialist, the rights of national minorities were only formal proclamations on paper. In the Soviet Union, where the revisionists have destroyed the socialist order, they claim that they are building communism. But what kind of communism is it when the indisputable facts show that the Khrush-

chevites have turned the Soviet Union back again into a prison of nations and have re-established capitalism there. We will never turn back, we will further strengthen socialism in our country. And socialism is strengthened, the masses are developed politically, ideologically and morally in the process of raising the level of culture and spreading it among the people, along with the all-round development of the economy, the ceaseless improvement of the well-being from one stage to the other, etc., etc. Eventually, at a more advanced stage, our society will pass into communism. Arrival at communism depends on us, but also depends on the external conditions, on the international circumstances, and on the revolutionary situation of other peoples.

I am not going to speak at length about Yugoslavia where the Albanians living on their own territory have been cruelly persecuted and killed. There, even to this day, «democratic» ways and means have been found to oust the Kosovars, to disperse them all over Yugoslavia and to send them to Turkey and elsewhere, far from their own territory. Kosovars have emigrated all over Europe. In these circumstances it is idle to speak of any equality of rights with the other nationalities, which they allegedly have.

In Albania, proletarian internationalism finds its complete application and the rights of the minority are fully applied. On the basis of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, national minorities are guaran-

teed the development of their culture and folk traditions, the use of their language and teaching of it in school, and equal development in all fields of social life. Any action which infringes the rights of the minority is punished by law.

In Dropull, secretaries of the Party organizations, members of Party bureaus, chairmen of cooperatives, chairmen and members of people's councils, doctors, midwives and teachers are from the minority. The day before yesterday I read in the papers that in Yugoslavia a meeting is to be held of the committee of the Autonomous Province of Kosova at which the leading organs and delegates to the 12th Conference of the League of Communists of Kosova will be elected. The report to the meeting of the leading body of the provincial committee of Kosova, which was «chaired» by an Albanian, was delivered by Petar Jakšić from Serbia, while the report on the changes in the Constitution and the cadres was delivered by Vojislav Popović, also from Serbia. This means: You Albanians don't speak, but «mind your own business» as they say about Qaqe, to whom they said: Don't you speak, but mind your own business!...

I had an uncle called Hysen Hoxha, who was mayor of Gjirokastra. I was a small boy when the Greek troops came,(**2**)but I remember that Janaq Shkrapi and many others came to my

2 In 1912-1916 the Greek army occupied the Southern regions of Albania.

uncle and said to him: «Mulla Hysen, stay on as mayor, don't be afraid, because you have us to back you up and we will not allow them to do you any harm.» In those times there was no party and people were divided into Christians and Moslems, but the sentiments of the Greek minority people, of Christians and Moslems, were so sincere and kindly that the unity of the minority with the people of Gjirokastra was not broken. Nothing bad was done and there was no one from the minority who said: «Now, we will be OK, because our brothers have come from over the border.» What does this show? This shows that the sincere feelings of good folk do not alter, either in good times or bad, they feel close together because he who has a good heart does not wish harm on anyone else. On the contrary, he who is evil wants to harm another, because he wants to lord it over him.

No people wants to dominate or to be dominated by another, but wants to live in friendship with the others.

The hardships we have suffered have made us draw lessons and always be ready to defend ourselves. We must be able to organize our defence and our economy well simultaneously. We must understand both the economy and defence politically and ideologically. The interests, desires and sentiments of the minority in our country are not in any way different from those of the whole Albanian people. The Albanians and the minority people together will

continue to defend this great reality which exists in Albania.

The economic and political strengthening of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, its upholding of the banner of Marxism-Leninism, have enhanced our authority in the world. We are not conceited about the successes we have achieved, but encouraged by these successes. It is our duty to assist our friends and the revolutionary peoples to the extent of our possibilities. It is precisely the understanding of the correct policy of the Party, the political and ideological understanding of the new and more advanced form of our collectivized agriculture, which has brought these successes to you as to the higher-type cooperative of Grapsh.

The Albanian people made great sacrifices for the freedom of the Greek people at the time of the war. You know that because we defended the Greek partisans and allowed them to retreat into our country, our Homeland was placed in danger from the forces of the British General, Scobie, nevertheless, our people agreed to make sacrifices in favour of the Greek people.

We have never wished any harm to come to Greece, therefore, we have told the members of its government that no evil comes from us. I and all the comrades are convinced that the Greek people, too, never wish us any harm, because they love freedom as we do.

We have exchanged opinions openly with the government leaders of Athens, they know

our stands and know by what ideology we are guided. They approve our stand in the field of foreign policy. We think that neither the United States of America nor the Soviet Union have any reason to meddle in the affairs of Cyprus. Those two great powers ought to leave the Greek people and the Turkish people on that island to reach agreement with one another on their own. The Greek government, the government of Cyprus and that of Turkey approve this correct view of ours. Who was it who stirred up the Greek and Turkish communities on the Island of Cyprus to feud with one another? The imperialists. And now the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, for their own interests, are putting pressure on Greece and want to set it quarrelling with Turkey, because each of them wants to dominate the Mediterranean.

Each of the superpowers is trying to secure the Mediterranean for itself, without in any way considering the interests of the Greek people or other peoples of this zone. When they see that the Greek government resists their intrigues, in order to exert pressure, they turn their attention to the Turkish government, or vice-versa. Being aware of this filthy activity of these two superpowers, we say that they are the main enemies of the peoples, therefore, the peoples must keep their eyes open...

In conclusion, I express my confidence that you will successfully accomplish all the patriotic,

economic and organizational tasks which the Party has set to you. I promise you that when I return to Tirana I shall tell the comrades of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee about all that I have seen in Gjirokastra and this higher-type cooperative.

I tell you sincerely that my impressions about you are very good. I have long had a very great love for the people of the minority, but I shall never forget what I saw and experienced here today when no one moved from his place despite the ceaseless rain.

I wish you success in your work!

Goodbye, dear comrades!

VLORA, SATURDAY
APRIL 1, 1978

THE GREEK GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO MY SPEECH AT GRAPSH

Yesterday I learned that on March 28 the Athens news agency published an announcement of the Greek government entitled: «Enver Hoxha's declaration has been welcomed with special satisfaction» in connection with the speech I delivered to the people of Dropull in Grapsh, on March 22.

The report points out that the Greek government has welcomed with special satisfaction my declaration about the development of our friendship and collaboration with the people of Greece, as well as my friendly advice to the Greek minority, which lives on Albanian soil, about the preservation of its language, traditions and folklore. The report says that this declaration responds to the unchanging policy of Greece for the development of good neighbourly relations and friendship with Albania.

The appreciation of the Greek government,

reported by the Athens news agency, is another proof which shows that our correct Marxist-Leninist stand towards our brothers of the Greek minority who, shoulder to shoulder with their Albanian brothers, are struggling to build socialism and their new life, and our thoroughly principled and open policy towards our neighbours are finding a response and support not only among the peoples and the progressive forces, but also among those governments and their members that want good neighbourly relations and adhere to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 8, 1978

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WANT TO BE SINCERE FRIENDS WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE FOREVER

I had a meeting with the electors of electoral zone No. 209 in Tirana. On this occasion I spoke to those present about the great strides which our country has made in all fields of life, and about the brilliant prospects which are opened to the Albanian people in the socialist construction. I also dwelt on some questions of the international situation as well as on the relations of our country with the neighbouring countries.

In connection with the relations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people with Greece and the Greek people, Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech:

With Greece we have friendly relations. We have always wanted to live on good neighbourly terms with the Greek people. The present Greek

government has responded to our desire that peace should exist in the borders of our two countries. This realistic stand of theirs is good. Relations in the field of trade and culture are developing satisfactorily. We are ready to proceed on this course which is to the benefit of our two peoples and we want to be sincere friends with one another forever. The Albanian people see that the Greek people, too, are for this friendship.

SUNDAY
MARCH 25, 1979

ON CARAMANLIS'S TRIP TO YUGOSLAVIA AND RUMANIA

These days the Greek prime minister, Caramanlis, completed his trip to Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Naturally, the newspapers of various countries of the world, and especially those of Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece, that is, of the Balkan countries, are trying to point out that Caramanlis's visit has had a positive echo and the talks and contacts between leaders of these three countries have been fruitful and useful. I, too, believe that they have been so. That is, the talks and contacts between these three leaders have helped to improve the Greco-Yugoslav and Greco-Rumanian relations through exchange of opinions with one another, or through further development of trade and cultural relations. However, I think that there are also problems between these countries:

The Yugoslavs have pretensions to Aegean

Macedonia and the Greeks, of course, are very sensitive about this. They are opposed to the Yugoslav policy which, without making open territorial claims against Greece, makes them indirectly through the Macedonian Republic. For this purpose articles are being published and Macedonian families from the Aegean are being assembled in Macedonia.

According to newspaper reports this question was not raised in the talks between Caramanlis and Tito, but they could have dealt with this question. If this is so, however, we are convinced that no solution was reached, because the Yugoslavs have not abandoned the issue and neither do the Greeks accept the Yugoslav territorial claims.

In any case, the visit of Caramanlis to Yugoslavia and Rumania demonstrated to Yugoslav, Greek and Rumanian opinion that there are possibilities to refuse to permit the interference of Great Powers in the Balkans. Nevertheless, we know what Yugoslavia and Rumania are. In appearance they seem to have a certain independent existence, but the fact that they are linked by a thousand threads with various imperialists makes it impossible for them to have a fully independent policy, to oppose the demands and aims of superpowers and to avoid pressure from them. This occurs, also, because of the fact that the imperialist superpowers, bearing in mind that they have interests in those countries, also have people

and parties who defend their hegemonic, political and economic views.

Nevertheless, according to what Greek ambassadors say, Caramanlis told the Yugoslavs that Greece has very good relations with Albania and they will be even better in the future. For our part, we are ready, on the basis of our principles, to improve the relations with Greece, regardless of the fact that our states and republics have different forms of government and are guided by different ideologies. Now that our relations with Greece are improving, members of the Greek government, indeed the president (**1**) of the Republic himself, told our ambassador, when he went to pay his farewell visit, that the ideas about «Vorio Epirus» are outdated, these are the ideas of a few groups who shout about certain claims from time to time. This is at least a verbal commitment of the president of the Greek Republic on this question.

1 Constandinos Tsatsos.

FRIDAY
APRIL 27, 1979

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE PELASGIANS, DORIANS, GREEKS AND ILLYRIANS

In today's meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party, we discussed the utilization of literature and art by the youth and their creative work in this field. On this occasion, I had a discussion about the Pelasgians, Dorians, Greeks and Illyrians with Moikom Zeqo, a young writer and enthusisat for under-water archaeology.

An excerpt from the conversation:

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That means, Moikom, you are an amateur archaeologist. Very good...

Can you tell us something about the direction in which you think archaeology should proceed further?

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: Before Liberation, archaeology was considered as a blank

page. This is one of the sciences about which we are now becoming aware how much it assists us to gain a clearer idea of the history of our people, notably including the political aspect. For example, Ugolini (**1**) was an archaeologist, but by means of the myth of Aeneas and with the aid of archaeology, in which he made scientific falsifications, he wanted to justify the occupation of Albania by means of that «programmatic» myth.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: According to Virgil's poem *The Aeneid*, when Aeneas went to Italy, they met him on the seashore and asked him «Which is your god?» «See, my two hands are my god,» Aeneas replied.

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: In recent years archaeology has done very extensive work and has filled a big gap. Now we have a more complete concept about the Illyrians. And the problem about the inhabitants who existed prior to the Illyrians has been put forward in a more elevated form.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Can you tell us something more about the inhabitants before

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1 Luigi M. Ugolini (1895-1937), chief of the Italian archaeological mission in Albania. In the years 1928-1937 he did research at Finiq and Butrint, zones in the south of Albania, and carried out extensive activity in the service of the Italian fascist government for the ideological preparation of the occupation of Albania. He stole objects of great archaeological and artistic value found in Albania and sent them to Italy.

the Illyrians, about the Pelasgians, for example?

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: The problem of the Pelasgians will be raised to a new height and, of course, the documents about this will be more thoroughly studied and more scientific.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That seems to mean that you are a supporter of the views of Konda who was a friend of mine.

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: Certain elements of the essence, of the cradle, of Mediterranean culture have been preserved in Albania. They show that the question of the Pelasgians is not an imaginary thing. The pre-Illyrians, those who are called proto-Illyrians, are certainly linked with something.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Is there any new information about the Dorian tribes which attacked the continental Greeks?

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: The connection of the Dorians with the Illyrians can be seen both in mythology and in the legends which they have left us. In their culture they had mostly Illiyrian elements.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, because they came from here, from north of Greece. That is what the German historians say, especially those who defend the thesis that the Dorians came from the north of Greece. Could they have had links with the Pelasgians?

COMRADE MOIKOM ZEQO: The thesis of their coming from the north is mostly a thesis of the German school, Comrade Enver. It is

possible that the Pelasgians were inhabitants of these parts and perhaps did not come from the north.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: No, I am speaking of the Balkan region to the north of Greece and not of Scandinavia. I am not referring to the Vikings. They say that Dodona (**2**) was a temple which existed before the Greeks and even before the Dorians. That's as far as I know, because I may be wrong. Dodona remained as an ancient Pelasgian monument. If we link Dodona with the tribe of the Molossi, (**3**) we must also link it with Epirus, that is, with the time before Pyrrhus. This is a complicated thing!

What is Mycenae? (**4**) Some say that it is Greek culture and others say that it was developed before the Greeks, hence, it is a very ancient culture...

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2 An ancient city and religious centre in Epirus. Its ruins lie 18 kilometres to the southwest of Janina, near the high mountain of Tomaros. The ancient tradition unanimously considers Dodona an ancient religious centre of the Pelasgians, the population which inhabited those parts before the Greeks.

3 One of the main Illyrian tribes of Epirus. About the end of the 5th century b.o.e., they founded the kingdom known as the Molossian League. Dodona lay within their territories and was the place where the Molossian rulers took the oath before the people on the day they came to power.

4 An ancient city in Peloponnesus, the capital of Argos and the civilization called Creto-Mycenaen.

POGRADEC, THURSDAY
JULY 12, 1979

CONFRONTATION IN THE PRESENCE OF STALIN

I am looking over the materials which I'll include in the book (**1**) about my meetings with J.V. Stalin. I think I should include a special chapter (**2**) with the notes I have from my confrontation with the leaders of the Greek Communist Party in the presence of Stalin, over the disagreements on matters of principle between the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and leaders of the Greek Communist Party.

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1 *With Stalin (Memoirs)*, published in Albanian and several foreign languages in December 1979, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Stalin's birth.

2 The fourth chapter, which carries the subtitle, «The Fourth Meeting», *With Stalin (Memoirs)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1979, pp. 163-200, Eng. ed.

FOURTH MEETING

JANUARY 1950

Confrontation in Stalin's presence over disagreements of principle between the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the leaders of the Greek Communist Party. Present were: Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov; Nicos Zachariades, Mitsos Partsalides. On the strategy and tactics of the Greek Democratic Army. Varkiza. The tactics of passive defence is the mother of defeat. Why the defeats at Vitsi and Gramos? On the leading role of the party in the army. The place and role of the commissar. Nicos Zachariades expresses his views. Stalin's evaluation.

During the talk I had with Comrade Stalin in Sukhumi, in November 1949, he asked me when we could meet the representatives of the Greek Communist Party to clear up the disagreements of principle between us and the leaders of that party. We were agreed on January, and after the Greek comrades agreed to this, the meeting took place in the beginning of January 1950 in Moscow, in the Kremlin. From the Soviet side the meeting was attended by Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov and a number of functionaries of the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while from the Greek Communist Party Nicos Zachariades and Mitsos Partsalides. The meeting was held in Stalin's office.

Unpretentious and kindly as usual, Stalin welcomed us with a smile, rose from his desk and came to shake hands with all of us in turn. He opened the talk by asking me:

«Comrade Hoxha, what have you to say about the comrades of the Greek Communist Party?»

At the same time he addressed the Greek comrades by saying:

«Let the Albanian comrades speak first, then comes your turn to put forward your opinions on what they will say.»

Taking the floor I said:

«Comrade Stalin, we have sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the disagreements over matters of principle we have with the Greek Communist Party, especially with its main leaders. We have requested this meeting in your presence so that you may judge whether we are right or wrong in our views.»

«I am aware of the questions you have raised,» said Comrade Stalin, «but I would like you to repeat the problems you are concerned about here in the presence of the Greek comrades.»

«Of course I shall state here all the questions our Party has put forward in the letter we have

sent you. We have discussed these questions with the Greek comrades, too, especially with Comrade Nicos Zachariades, with Comrade Ioannides, with General Vlantas, with Bardzotas, and other comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party. I would like to begin by pointing out that we have had disagreements on a number of questions, but here I shall speak about the most important ones.»

«That is what we want, too,» stressed Stalin.

Then I began my expose:

«Our first disagreement with the Greek comrades was over the strategy and tactics of the war of the Greek Democratic Army. Both for us Albanians and for the Greek people, the war against Hitlerite and Italian fascists was a liberation war, on which the fate of our peoples depended. We had to and did base this war on the heroic war of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. Right from the start, we Albanians were convinced that we would come out victorious, because our entire people had risen in a great liberation war, in which they had beside them the great Soviet Union, which would smash German nazism.

«Our Party supported the Soviet-British-American alliance, because, through to the end, it considered this an anti-fascist coalition to crush the German nazis. But at the same time we never created the illusion that the Anglo-American imperialists would be the loyal friends and allies of the Albanian people. On the contrary, while sup-

porting the alliance in general, we made a radical distinction between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans from the beginning. With this I want to say that our Party, our army and the General Staff of our army not only never submitted to the dictate of the British and the Allied Mediterranean Command, but even when we allowed them to give us advice, we took it with very great caution. We asked for weapons from the British but we saw they sent us very few. As you know, we waged partisan warfare, from which we went on later to big detachments up to the creation of the regular National Liberation Army.

«The Greek people fought under the same conditions as we. They rose against the Italian fascist aggressors, drove them back, defeated them. The Greek monarchist army even entered Albania. Although our Communist Party was not founded at that time, the communists and our people helped the Greeks in their war against fascist Italy, although they were under occupation themselves. However, with the intervention of the Hitlerite army in the war against Greece, the Greek monarchist army was forced to withdraw to its own territory and was defeated. After that period, the Greek people, led by the Greek Communist Party, which created the EAM, organized the partisan units and other bigger units later, began the resistance and the National Liberation War.

«During the National Liberation War which

they waged, our two peoples developed even closer fraternal relations. Friendly ties have existed between the Albanian and the Greek peoples from the past. (**3**) As is known many Albanians participated and played a very important role in the Greek revolution of the 20's of the last century, led by Ypsilanti. However, this time the character of our war was the same and our communist parties were at the head of the peoples of our two countries. We established relations between ourselves, and even undertook military

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3 In the letter which he sent Comrade Enver Hoxha on September 10, 1944, the Chairman of the National Council of Greece, said: «The Greeks and the Albanians are the two most ancient peoples of the Balkans, they are linked by blood and common traditions and have waged common wars. They have a common fate. Today their community of interests is tempered and strengthened with new bonds, with the endless bloodshed and countless sacrifices which the two peoples are making beside our great allies in the war to regain their national freedom.

«Even in the past no divergencies or contradictions have divided the two neighbouring peoples of Greece and Albania. Only the anti-popular policy of certain politicians, who have governed our two countries during recent decades, has kept the two friendly peoples aloof from each other. However, the prejudices and intrigues have been smashed through the joint struggle to expel the same barbarous enemy occupiers. Greece and Albania have emerged reborn from this common struggle. In the future, our two peoples will live not just in relations of good neighbourliness, but in an atmosphere of harmonious collaboration and unbreakable friendship. The primary condition for the rebuilding of the Balkans from the ruins which the invaders caused is close and cordial cooperation between them.»

operations with combined fighting units against the German armies on Greek territory. Just as in our country, reaction in Greece, too, was strong and the occupiers were very well organized. This, too, was a phenomenon in common.

«On our part, we made efforts and achieved some results in isolating the heads of reaction and in winning over elements that had made mistakes from its ranks. I cannot say with precision how they acted in Greece, but we have criticized the comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party because the EAM and they themselves committed a major political mistake of principle in subordinating the National Liberation War of the Greek people to the Anglo-American strategy and placing it virtually under the direction of the British and the Mediterranean Command. We addressed our criticism to Comrade Nicos Zachariades personally.

«The person mainly to blame for this situation was Siantos, who in the absence of Zachariades — at that time imprisoned in German concentration camps, was acting general secretary of the Greek Communist Party. When we pointed out this matter to Comrade Zachariades later, he did not give me a clear answer, and leaned more to the view that mistakes had not been made. I persisted in the opinion of our Party and, in the end, I told Comrade Zachariades that Siantos was a provocateur, an agent of the British. Had Siantos been in our country, I told Comrade Zachariades, our Party would have put him

on trial, and sentenced him to the punishment he deserved, while you did not act that way. Of course, that is your business, but this is our opinion on this matter.

«As a conclusion, Comrade Nicos Zachariades agreed that 'Siantos should not have acted as he did,' that 'the comrades had criticized him for this, however, they did not put him on trial, but only expelled him from the party', he said in the end.

«Pursuing this matter, I would like to point out that we have had a series of political, ideological and military talks with leading comrades of the Greek Communist Party, and this is understandable, because we were two communist parties and had the one strategic aim — the liberation of our countries from the nazi-fascist occupiers and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country.

«We saw that, despite the outstanding bravery of the Greek partisans and their commanders, after Comrade Nicos Zachariades was released from the Hitlerite concentration camps, he occupied a leading position in 'liberated' Greece with the British army stationed there on the basis of the agreements signed earlier at Caserta and Cairo by representatives of the EAM, agreements which, in the end, led to the Varkiza agreement. Our Party did not agree with these actions of the Greek Communist Party, and considered them as a subordination of the Greek Democratic

War, as a failure of its policy of liberation, and capitulation to Anglo-American reaction.

«What is more, at a mass rally in the Athens stadium, at which the chiefs of the Greek bourgeois parties spoke in turn, Comrade Nicos Zachariades spoke, too, as leader of the Greek Communist Party, and declared among other things: 'If the other Greek democratic parties demand the autonomy of «Vorio-Epirus», the Greek Communist Party will associate itself with them'. (!) Our Party immediately protested publicly and warned that it would combat such views mercilessly. Following this event, we invited Comrade Nicos Zachariades to a meeting, at which I criticized him severely, describing his statement as an anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian stand, and I made it very clear to him that 'Vorio-Epirus' which was Albanian territory, would never become Greek territory. I want to say on this occasion that Comrade Nicos Zachariades acknowledged his mistake, admitted to us that he had made a grave error in this direction and promised to correct the mistake he had made.

«We may be wrong, but our opinion is that Marcos Vaphiades, whom they eliminated later, was a good communist and an able commander. (**4**) Naturally, however, this is only an opinion of

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4 It is known publicly that while he was returning from the 5th Plenum of the Greek Communist Party, at which he was dismissed from all functions in the Party under the pretext that he was ill, General Marcos Vaphiades

ours, which may be right or may be wrong, therefore we do not pretend to judge this, because, in the final analysis, this is a question which is not up to us, but to the Greek Communist Party, to judge.

«Our opposition to the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, with Comrade Zachariades at the head, is based, in the first place, on Varkiza, where the Greek Communist Party and the EAM signed the agreement which is nothing but a capitulation, a surrender of their arms. The Party of Labour of Albania described this act as a betrayal committed against the Greek Communist Party and the fraternal Greek people. Not only should Varkiza never have come to pass, but it should be sternly condemned. I have expressed this view long ago to Comrades Nicos Zachariades and Mitsos Partsalides who was one of those who signed the agreement. We have respect for these two Greek leading comrades, Zachariades and Partsalides, but this action,

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ran into an armed ambush near the border with Albania for which he was heading. He and the persons who accompanied him escaped certain death only thanks to the intervention of the Albanian border guards and their supporting fire which enabled them to reach Albanian territory alive.

It is said that Marcos was dismissed from his functions in the Party because of the political and military contradictions he had with Zachariades, the general secretary of the Greek Communist Party and the ambush near the Greek-Albanian border had been organized for the physical liquidation of Marcos.

inspired and carried out by them, was absolutely wrong and caused the Greek people great harm.

«Nicos Zachariades has defended a thesis which is the opposite of ours on Varkiza. He has always insisted that it was not at all a capitulation, or a betrayal, but 'an act which had to be done in order to gain time and allow us to seize power'.

«In connection with Varkiza, I asked Comrade Nicos Zachariades to explain the reasons for the condemnation and murder of Aris Velouchiotes, who, after the signing of the said agreement, set out to come to Albania in order to make contact with the Central Committee of our Party. Nicos Zachariades replied: 'Although Aris Velouchiotis was a courageous general, he was a rebel, an anarchist, who did not accept the decision of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party on Varkiza, therefore we merely expelled him from the Central Committee of the Party. But what happened to him later, who killed him, etc.,' Zachariades said, 'we do not know. We assure you that we are not the authors of his assassination,' he said. I have expressed to Comrade Nicos Zachariades our opinion that, without wanting in any way to interfere in their affairs and without knowing Aris personally, only judging from the fact that he was a valiant fighter of the Greek people, he should not have been condemned. 'As for his assassination,' I said, 'we believe what you have told us, but on this score, too, we have some

contradictions with you, because we are consistent on the Varkiza question.'

«As Marxist-Leninists, we were very sorry for the Greek people, with whom we had collaborated during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, therefore, later, at the moments when they were again faced with the question of liberation or slavery, we wanted to continue this collaboration.

«I do not want to speak here about the internationalist support and backing which we gave the Greek Communist Party and the Greek National Liberation War, despite the very difficult conditions with which our country, just liberated from the occupiers, had to cope. Let the Greek comrades speak about this.(**5**) Despite our great poverty, when the time came, we did everything we could to provide food and shelter to help the Greek refugees who had entered our territory. The fact that Albania was a friendly liberated country, where the people and the Party of Labour of Albania had come to power,

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5 In his book *Kapedan Aris* the Greek writer Costis Papacongos says: «Hoxha's partisans welcomed the Greek partisans very open-heartedly and displayed a fabulous respect towards their famous fighting leader [Aris Velouchiotis] and regarded as an honour that they were the first to welcome him to their People's Republic. They told him immediately that he could stay there as long as he liked, as their guest, to rest and return to his home country later. Indeed, if he wished, he could stay permanently as a guest in their country, like many of the fighting leaders who escaped the savage persecutions in Greece have done.»

a thing which enabled the Greek Democratic Army to feel secure and defended on its north-western flank, was of great assistance to the Greek Democratic Army.

«After the capitulation at Varkiza, the Greek National Liberation War was resumed. The Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party held its plenary meeting to which delegates from our Party were invited. On this occasion, changes were made in the leadership, however all these were internal questions of the Greek Communist Party. We simply rejoiced over and encouraged the fierce attacks launched all over Greece against the monarcho-fascists, who, seeing the danger of the situation created, went over from reliance on the British to reliance on the Americans. The United States of America sent the notorious general, Van Fleet, whom they considered a consummate strategist, to command its army in Greece.

«We have had contradictions with Zachariades, Bardzotas and Ioannides over the character of the war that the Greek Democratic Army should have waged against the numerous regular forces of Greek reaction, armed with most modern means of warfare by the American imperialists. Thus, there has been a contradiction over principles between our two parties on this question, too. On the basis of our National Liberation War we think that the Greek Democratic War should not have been transformed into a frontal war, but should have retained the character of a

partisan war, fought with small and large units. In this way, Van Fleet's superior forces would not have been able to liquidate the Greek Democratic Army, but, on the contrary, this army would have harassed and attacked these forces from all quarters with the tactics of partisan warfare, inflicted losses and gradually weakened them, until it had prepared the counter-offensive. We supported the thesis that the Greek partisan war should have been based on the people, while the weapons should have been captured from the enemy.

«Zachariades' views on strategy were in opposition to ours. The comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party not only described the regrouping of the national liberation partisan forces, which they managed to carry out, as a 'regular' and 'modern' army in form, but they also claimed that they had equipped it with the strategy and tactics of the frontal war of a regular army. In our opinion, the forces which they regrouped were, in fact, just a partisan army, which they did not succeed in equipping either with the partisan tactics, or with the tactics of a regular army. On the other hand, in their military operations the Greek comrades followed the tactics of passive defence which is the mother of defeat. This, in our opinion, was a grave mistake of the leading comrades of the Greek Communist Party, who have proceeded from the incorrect principle that partisan warfare has no final objective, that is, does not lead to the

seizure of power. From the talks we have had with them, we have formed the opinion that the Greek comrades conceive partisan war as a war of isolated guerilla units of 10-15 men, which, according to them, have no prospect of growth and development into brigades, divisions, army-corps, etc. This is not correct. As the experience of every such war has shown, and as our National Liberation War confirmed, provided it is well led, partisan warfare with small units grows gradually as the war develops, as the revolutionary drive of the masses gathers impetus, and thus reaches the stage of the general armed uprising and the creation of a regular people's army. But the comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party stubbornly defended their views and categorically excluded the necessity for the expansion and strengthening of partisan war in Greece. We have not accepted and do not accept these views of theirs.

«Allow me to express our opinion about how the situation presented itself at the time when the Greek Communist Party went underground and had to begin the war anew. At that time, the ELAS detachments had surrendered their arms, their bases had been destroyed, they lacked clothing. food, weapons; the morale of the ELAS fighters had declined, the movement was in retreat. From the outset, the Greek Communist Party described precisely these regrouped forces as a 'regular' and 'modern' army which, according to it, could fight with the strategy and

tactics of a modern army and withstand open frontal war with an enemy ten times its strength. We think that this partisan army should have fought according to the partisan tactics, as our teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, teach us. How can this regrouping of partisan forces which the Greek Communist Party carried out, be called a regular army when it did not have the necessary cadres, tanks, aircraft, artillery, means of communication, clothing, food, or even the most necessary light weapons?! We think that these views of the Greek comrades are wrong.

«While calling this regrouping of partisan forces a regular army equipped, according to them, with 'the fighting strategy and tactics of a regular army' (strategy and tactics which were never applied in reality), the leadership of the Greek Communist Party also did not think seriously, in a Marxist manner, about how this army would be supplied. The Greek comrades said: 'There is no possibility of capturing our weapons from the enemy'. But such views, in our opinion, are contrary to the teachings of Lenin, who said that in no instance should you wait for aid from abroad, or from on high, but you must secure everything for yourselves; that in no instance should the organization or re-organization of detachments be neglected on the pretext of lack of weapons, etc. The comrades of the Greek leadership, underrating the enemy, thought that the seizure of power was an easy

thing and could be done without protracted and bloody battles, and without sound, allround organization. These views of the Greek comrades brought other bitter consequences which caused their ultimate defeat, but the astonishing thing is that, even in the recent talks we have had with them, they consider their views correct.

«However, in our opinion based on facts, the tactics and strategy for the war which Comrade Nicos upholds are wrong. In the conversation I had with Comrade Zachariades, he claimed that the units of the Greek Democratic Army could not penetrate deep into Greek territory, because the monarcho-fascists and Van Fleet had burned the villages and had deported the population, so that, according to him, all the inhabited centres were deserted. I told him that such a thing could occur, but not to the proportions Zachariades claimed. This was my opinion based on the logic of facts, because obviously, the monarcho-fascists and the American army could not possibly clear the population from all the inhabited areas of Greece.

«Likewise we disagreed with the claims and views expressed in a letter of the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party addressed to the Political Bureau of our Party, in which the Greek leaders, wanting to avoid going deeply into their mistakes and wanting to hide them, claim that their defeats stem from their not being supplied with weapons, ammunition and clothing in the necessary quantities and that the enemy

had domination in the air and on the sea and was amply supplied by the Anglo-Americans. The truth is that the enemy was much better supplied and had superior strength in men and matériel. However, in such a case, when you are conducting a war against internal reaction and foreign military intervention, the best course is that the enemy should become the greatest source of supplies. The Greek Democratic Army ought to have captured its weapons from the enemy, but these weapons could not be captured by following the tactic of defensive warfare, of passive defence. Nevertheless, we think that the basic question is not one of supplies. We think that, in rejecting the tactics of partisan warfare and its development to the general armed uprising and the seizure of power, the leadership of the Greek Communist Party has applied a defensive and passive tactic which is unacceptable either in a partisan war or in a frontal war with regular armies. By pursuing such a tactic, the Greek Democratic Army, apart from other things, deprived itself of the possibility of extending to other areas of the country where it would certainly have found an inexhaustible source of supply of manpower in the sons and daughters of the people, and likewise deprived itself of the possibitily of capturing its weapons from the enemy through ceaseless, rapid, well-thought actions, carried out where the enemy least expected them. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there must be no playing at armed

insurrection, and the history of so many wars has confirmed that the defensive spells death for any armed uprising. If it remains on the defensive, the uprising is very quickly crushed by a more powerful and better equipped enemy.

«In our opinion, the very tactic the Greek comrades employed confirms this. The biggest active forces of the Greek Democratic Army were kept permanently within the fortified sectors of Vitsi and Gramos. These forces were trained for defensive trench warfare, and a frontal war with the enemy army was imposed on them at the wish of their leadership and they accepted it. The Greek comrades thought they would take power by means of defensive and passive war. In our opinion, power could not be taken by defending yourselves at Gramos. The only manoeuvre the Greek Communist Party made (and this was imposed on it by the circumstances) was in the battle at Gramos in 1948, where the truly heroic Greek partisans resisted for seventy days on end, inflicted losses in men on the enemy, but in the end, in order to escape encirclement and annihilation, broke out from Gramos and went over to Vitsi. However, this was still far from the seizure of power. The Greek Democratic Army should have carried out attacks to capture cities. This was not achieved. At that time, too, the Greek comrades, claimed that they lacked the forces. This may be true, but why did they lack forces and where should they have found them? The Greek com-

rades did not analyse this problem deeply and did not solve it, either at that time, or later, in the proper Marxist-Leninist way. The tactics of the Greek comrades, as they put it in the letter of their Political Bureau addressed to our Political Bureau, was to hold Vitsi and Gramos at any cost, as their base for the further development of the war, and they made success in war dependent exclusively on supplies, but without ever finding the correct way to secure those supplies by fighting.

«Thus, suffering defeat after defeat, the Greek Democratic Army was forced to retreat and entrenched itself again in the zones of Vitsi and Gramos. This was e very critical phase, both for the Greek Democratic Army and for our country. During this period we followed the activities of the Greek comrades with great attention. Before the final offensive of the monarcho-fascists against the Greek Democratic Army, the comrades of the Greek leadership were of the opinion that their political and military situation was absolutely excellent, whereas that of the enemy, according to them, was utterly desperate. According to them, 'Vitsi is extremely well fortified and impregnable to the enemy, if the enemy attacks Vitsi, it has signed its death warrant. Vitsi will become the grave-yard of the monarcho-fascists. The enemy has to launch this offensive because it has no other way out, it is on the brink of disaster. Let the monarcho-fascist army and the army of Van Fleet at-

tack whenever they like, we shall smash them.'

«Comrade Vlantas held that the enemy would direct the main blow against Gramos and not against Vitsi, because 'Gramos is less fortified, as it is situated on the border with Albania, and the enemy, after defeating us there, will turn back to attack us at Vitsi, because it thinks it can annihilate us there, since it borders on Yugoslavia. After fighting at Gramos and inflicting great losses on the enemy, we shall manoeuvre with our forces from Gramos in order to attack the enemy forces at Vitsi from the rear'.

«But a little before the final attack, we informed the Greek comrades that the enemy would launch their attack on the 10th of August on Vitsi and not on Gramos. This information enabled the Greek comrades to avoid being caught by surprise, and to take measures in time. However, even after this, they still believed that the main blow would be directed against Gramos. According to them, the enemy attack on Vitsi, and not on Gramos, 'changes nothing for us. We have taken all measures both at Vitsi and at Gramos. Vitsi is impregnable,' they thought, 'it is extremely well fortified. All the roads through which the enemy might attempt to pass have been made impassable. The enemy cannot bring his heavy weapons into the Vitsi zone, victory is ours.'

«These were the views of the Greek comrades two days before the enemy attack on Vitsi. Within one day the monarcho-fascists

captured the third line of defence at Vitsi and Vitsi was reduced in a matter of two or three days. There was very little fighting and resistance. This came as a great surprise to us. However, we had taken all measures for defence against an eventual attack on our territory by the monarcho-fascists. The Greek comrades, and Comrade Partsalides, who is present here, were not really convinced about the need for the defensive measures we had taken and called them hasty on our part. The Greek comrades were not realistic. Many refugees, among them democratic soldiers, who were routed, were forced to cross our border. What could we do?! We accepted them and accommodated them in allocated places.

«The analysis which the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party made of the defeat at Vitsi did not satisfy us. We think that a thorough analysis was required, because grave mistakes were made there. After the retreat from Vitsi, Comrade Zachariades based the prospect of victory on Gramos. 'Gramos' he said, 'is more favourable to us than Vitsi. The tanks, which were the decisive factor in the victory of the monarcho-fascists at Vitsi, cannot manoeuvre at Gramos,' etc.

«It must be said that at that time Tito's betrayal had become known. Later Zachariades claimed, 'The only ones who gave the Greek refugees asylum were the Albanians, the Yugoslavs not only did not permit the refugees to

cross into their territory, but even opened fire on them from behind.' Possibly this may have been so, we cannot say anything about it.

«In a talk with Comrade Zachariades about the retreat from Vitsi, I again raised the question of their mistakes and the inability of the Greek Communist Party, and in particular, of the commander of Vitsi, general Vlantas, to form an objective picture of the situation. 'His ideas,' I said to Nicos, 'have been proved wrong. The fact that the Greek Democratic Army was unable to defend Vitsi, proved this.'

«Nicos Zachariades contradicted me, saying that Vitsi fell because of the mistake of a commander, who had not placed the battalion allocated at one part of the front and failed to appear himself at his position in the fighting. Thus, according to Nicos, this commander was the cause of the defeat at Vitsi, therefore, he told me, 'We took measures and condemned him.' This was a very simplistic explanation on the part of Comrade Nicos for such a major defeat.

«I told him frankly and in a comradely way that I could not believe such a thing.

'Believe me or not, that's how it is,' Nicos said.

«'Nevertheless,' I continued: 'What is to be done now?'

«Nicos answered: 'We'll fight.'

'But where will you fight?'

'At Gramos, which is an impregnable fortress.'

«I asked the question: 'Do you intend to place the whole Greek Democratic Army there?'

'Yes,' replied Nicos Zachariades 'we shall send it all back to Gramos.'

«I said, 'You know your own business and it is you who decide, but our opinion is that Gramos can resist no longer, therefore all those brave fighters of the Greek Democratic Army of whom you are the leader, should not be sacrificed in vain. You must handle your own affairs as seems best to you, however, as we are your comrades and friends, we would like you to summon Comrade Bardzotas, the commander of the Greek troops at Gramos, and discuss this matter with him.' Nicos opposed this idea of mine and told me that this was impossible.

«We know what happened later. Gramos became the final defeat of the Greek Democratic Army.

«The forces at Gramos were routed in four days. In our opinion, the war was not organized there. A completely passive defence was maintained. We do not exclude that fierce fighting may have occurred at some places such as Polje and Kamenik, where some soldiers of the Greek Democratic Army resisted with heroism. With the exception of the Kamenik forces the whole retreat from Gramos was disorderly, like that from Vitsi. Among the officers and men of the Greek Democratic Army there was murmuring about the wrong defensive tactics employed at Gramos. Comrade Zachariades has confirmed this to us.

«We think that at the battles of Gramos and Vitsi the comrades of the Greek leadership did not keep in mind the Marxist-Leninist principles of people's war. The monarcho-fascist columns reached their predetermined positions with great speed and unmolested. They swept through the mountain crags and encircled the democratic forces, who stayed in their trenches and did not counter-attack; the enemy attacked, drove the partisans out of the trenches and occupied the fortifications. The command of the Greek Democratic Army had dispersed its forces in fortified positions and failed to use its reserves to counter-attack and smash the enemy offensive by means of continual attacks and rapid manoeuvring. We think that their erroneous views on the tactic of the war brought about their defeat. The men were capable of what was required of them, they were old partisans, tested in battle, with high morale, who fought heroically.

«On the other hand, by applying its tactics of passive defence the leadership of the Greek Communist Party allowed the monarcho-fascist army to regroup and reorganize, failed to attack in order to hinder the preparations of the enemy and bring about the failure, or at least, the weakening of its offensive, so as to allow the active forces of the Greek Democratic Army to manoeuvre on a large scale and strike incessantly at the enemy forces everywhere. These are some of the reasons which, in our opinion, caused the recent defeats at Gramos and Vitsi. In its analysis

of the defeat at Vitsi, the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party says, 'the leadership has grave responsibility,' but it says nothing about where this responsibility lies and, moreover, goes on to shed this responsibility in all directions. We think that this is not a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

«To achieve success in their war, the Greek comrades should not have followed the tactic of passive defence, but should have thoroughly applied the Marxist-Leninist principles on the armed uprising. The tactic that should have been followed, we believe, had to have the aim of damaging the enemy forces incessantly and in many directions, of making the situation insecure for the enemy at all times, obliging them to disperse their forces, striking panic and terror amongst them, and making it impossible for them to control the situation. Thus, the revolutionary war of the Greek people would have grown continuously, would have alarmed the enemy at first and then would have made it lose control of the situation, would have liberated whole regions and zones and subsequently gone over to the next objective, i.e., the general uprising and the liberation of the whole country. In this way, the partisan war in Greece had the prospect of development.

«In the talks we have had with them, we have frequently told the Greek comrades in a comradely manner that the Greek Partisan Army must try to capture its armaments from the

enemy in battle, must fight with the weapons of the enemy and secure its food and clothing from the people, together with whom and for whom it must fight.

«We have told our Greek comrades that, first of all, the Partisan Army must be linked with the people from whom it has become separated and without whom it cannot exist. The people must be taught to fight together with the army and to assist it and love it as their own liberator. This is an essential condition. The people must be taught that they must not surrender to the enemy, and the ranks of the army should be strengthened with men and women, the sons and daughters of the people, by Greece itself.

«Likewise, we have told the Greek comrades in a comradely manner that the leading role of the party in the Greek Partisan Army must be ensured more firmly; the political commissar of the company, battalion, brigade and division should be the true representative of the party, and as such should have the right to command, just the same as the commander. But we have noticed and have often pointed out to the Greek comrades that they have not taken a correct view of the leading role of the party in the army. On this problem I have expressed the opinion of our Party to Comrade Stalin previously and we deal with this again in the letter we have sent him. Failure to understand the leading role of the party in the army, we think, was one of the main reasons which led to the defeat of the Greek

Democratic Army in the war. We always proceed from the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the commander and the political commissar form an entity which directs the military actions and the political education of the units, that they are equally responsible for the situation of their detachment from every viewpoint, that both of them, the commander and the commissar, lead their unit, their detachment in the fighting.

«Without the political commissar we would not have had the Red Army, Lenin teaches us. We followed these principles in our National Liberation Army and follow them now in our People's Army. In the Greek National Liberation Army, ELAS, the joint command of the commander and the commissar existed, but this was not properly implemented in practice. The pressure of erroneous bourgeois views of career officers, who could not tolerate trusted people of the party in command alongside them, brought about that, at that time, the role of the commissar in command in the Greek Democratic Army was overshadowed and relegated to second place. This is a consequence of the views of the leaders of the Greek Communist Party on the 'regular army'. The comrades of the Greek leadership try to justify the elimination of the role of the political commissar by taking the army of some other country as an example, but we think that the Greek comrades are not realistic on this question.

«Such mistakes were noticed even after the

Greek National Liberation Army resumed the war. Since the dismissal of General Marcos this army had not had a Commander-in-chief. We think that such a situation was not correct. With us, the General Secretary of the Party has been and is simultaneously Commander-in-chief of the Army. We think this is correct. In time of peace perhaps it may not be so, possibly the Minister of Defence might fill this position, but in the conditions of the Greek Democratic Army, when it was still at war, there should have been a Commander-in-chief of the army, and we thought and still think, on the basis of our experience, that this political and military function belongs to the General Secretary of the Party. We have frequently expressed this view of ours to the Greek comrades. The reasons which the Greek comrades have given us to show why they did not act in that way are unconvincing. The Greek comrades have told us, 'Comrade Zachariades is very modest', or 'we had bitter experience with Tito who was general secretary, prime minister and supreme commander of the army simultaneously'. It seems to us that this is not a question of modesty; this has no connection, either, with what they say about Tito, behind which, it seems to us that something else is insinuated.

«We were astonished at a number of secret forms which the Greek comrades used, but we saw that the reality was quite different. We cannot explain these except with our impression that among the Greek comrades there was confusion,

opportunism, false modesty and hiding of the leading role of the party. Perhaps, the General Secretary of the Party need not be Commander-in-chief of the army, but that an army at war should not have a Commander-in-chief, as was the case of the Greek Democratic Army after the dismissal of Marcos, has always seemed wrong to us.

«The Greek comrades make no one responsible for this situation and for the subsequent defeats. They divide the responsibility, attributing it to both the guilty and the innocent. They unjustly put the blame on all the party members of the Greek Communist Party who have fought and are fighting heroically. We think that comrades of the Greek leadership are afraid to make a thorough analysis of these mistakes, which we consider grave ones, are afraid to put the finger on the sore spot. We also think that among some Greek comrades of the leadership there is lack of criticism and self-criticism, and that they protect one another in a 'comradely way' over the mistakes they have made.

«The comrades of the Greek leadership have been opposed to our opinions, which we have expressed to them in a comradely manner as internationalist communists who are fighting for the same cause, who have great common interests, and who were profoundly sympathetic to the cause of the Greek people's war. They have not welcomed our criticisms.

«Comrade Nicos Zachariades has raised many unpleasant things against us, which, of course,

we have rejected. His declaration over 'Vorio-Epirus', which I mentioned in the beginning, is already known. Apart from other things, he quarrelled with us, accusing us of allegedly having requisitioned the Greek trucks which were used to transport the Greek refugees and their belongings and demanded that we mobilized our trucks, too, for their needs. It is quite true that we used the Greek trucks to take the Greek refugees to the places allocated to them. We accepted the Greek refugees and sent them to Northern Albania, where, regardless of our own difficulties, we had to supply food for them, that is, to share the bread from our own mouths with them. As to our means of transport, our park of trucks was very small and we needed them to send supplies to all parts of Albania.

«The Greek comrades also criticize us for not giving priority to the unloading of the material aid, such as clothing, food, tents, blankets, etc., which came to our ports for the Greek refugees before they left Albania. This is not true. The aid which came on ships from abroad for the Greek refugees was sometimes stowed under the cargo that came for us. In such cases obviously we had to unload the goods on top first and then those below. It could not be done otherwise; we do not know of any method of unloading a ship beginning from the bottom.

«However, these were minor disagreements which could be overcome, as they were. The decisive questions were those relating to the polit-

ical and military line of the Greek Communist Party during the years of the war, about which I spoke earlier.

«Not only have the Greek comrades not accepted our views and criticisms, but we have the impression that they have taken them amiss, and indeed, in their letter to our Political Bureau some time ago, they make an impermissible and anti-Marxist comparison between our principled views and stands and the views of the Titoites. In their distortion of the views expressed by our delegation about the battle of Vitsi and Gramos, in order to adapt them to their own incorrect reasoning, the Greek leading comrades, in our opinion, have the aim of hiding the mistakes made on their part. We understand the grave moments the leadership of the Greek Communist Party has gone through following the defeat at Vitsi and Gramos, and the sense of frustration and anger which exists among them, but such grave and unfounded charges are unacceptable to us, and they should have been considered and weighed up well before they were made, especially by the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party.

«Following these accusations, which our Political Bureau considered dispassionately, we thought that the departure of the few Greek democratic refugees who were still in Albania had become even more necessary.

«Whether we are right or wrong in these stands and views we have maintained, let Com-

rade Stalin tell us. We are ready to acknowledge any possible mistake and to make self-criticism.»

Comrade Stalin interrupted me saying:

«You must not reject a comrade when he is down.»

«You are right, Comrade Stalin,» I replied, «but I assure you that we have never rejected the Greek comrades. The questions which we raised for discussion had great importance both for the Greek army and for us. The Central Committee of our Party could not permit the Greek Communist Party to have the centre of its activities in Albania, nor could it permit their troops to be organized and trained in our country in order to resume the war in Greece. I have said this, in a comradely way, to Comrade Nicos Zachariades, who had previously asked that the Greek refugees should go to other countries, which in fact is what has happened with the majority of the refugees. The reference was to a limited number of them who were still in our country. We have never raised the question of expelling the Greek refugees from our country. However, apart from the request made by Comrade Nicos himself, that the refugees go to other countries, logic forced us to the conclusion that, in the existing situation, even those who had remained absolutely must leave Albania.

«These were some of the problems which I wanted to raise, and which we have raised both with the Greek comrades and in the letter addressed to you earlier, Comrade Stalin.»

«Have you finished?» Comrade Stalin asked.

«I have finished,» I said.

Then he called on Comrade Zachariades to speak.

He began to defend Varkiza, stressing that the agreement signed there was not a mistake and expounded on this theme. He had expressed these same views to me previously.

In order to explain the reason for the defeat, amongst other things, Zachariades raised the question: «If we had known in 1946 that Tito was going to betray, we would not have started the war against the Greek monarcho-fascists.» Then he added some other «reasons» in order to explain the defeat, repeating that they lacked armaments, that though the Albanians had shared their own bread with the refugees, nevertheless they had raised obstacles, and so on. Zachariades raised some second-rate problems as questions of principle. Then he mentioned our request (which he himself had raised earlier) that those Greek democratic refugees who still remained should also leave Albania. According to him, this put an end to the Greek National Liberation War.

On this occasion, I want to express my impression that Comrade Nicos Zachariades was very intelligent and cultured, but, in my opinion, not sufficiently a Marxist. Despite the defeat they had suffered, he began to speak in defence of the strategy and tactics followed by the Greek Democratic Army, insisting that this strategy and tactics had been correct, that they could not have

acted otherwise. He dwelt at length on this question. Thus, each of us stuck to his own position.

That is what Nicos Zachariades said. He spoke at least as long as I did, if not longer.

Comrade Stalin and the other Soviet leading comrades listened to him attentively, too.

After Nicos, Comrade Stalin asked Mitsos Partsalides:

«Have you any opinion to express on what Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Nicos Zachariades have said?»

«I have nothing apart from what Comrade Nicos put forward,» said Partsalides, adding that they were awaiting the judgement of the Soviet comrades and the Bolshevik Party on these questions.

Then Stalin began to speak in the familiar calm way, just as we have known him whenever we have met him. He spoke in simple, direct, and extremely clear terms. He said that the Greek people had waged a heroic war, during which they had displayed their courage, but that there had also been mistakes.

«As regards Varkiza, the Albanians are right,» Stalin pointed out, and after analysing this problem, added: «You Greek comrades must understand that Varkiza was a major mistake. You should not have signed it and should not have laid down your arms, because it has inflicted great harm on the Greek people's war.

«As regards the assessment of the strategy and tactics you followed in the Greek Democratic

War, although it was a heroic war, again I think that the Albanian comrades are right. You ought to have waged a partisan war, and then, from the phase of this war should have gone over to frontal war.

«I criticized Comrade Enver Hoxha, telling him that he must not reject a comrade when he is down, however, from what we heard here, it turns out that the Albanian comrades have maintained a correct stand towards your views and actions. The circumstances which had been created and the conditions of Albania were such that you could not stay in that country, because in this way the independence of the People's Republic of Albania might have been placed in jeopardy.

«We complied with your request that all the Greek democratic refugees go to other countries and now all of them have been removed. Everything else, including the weapons, ammunition, etc., which the Albanian comrades took from those Greek democratic soldiers who crossed the border and entered Albania, belonged to Albania,» Stalin emphasized. «Therefore, those weapons must remain in Albania,» he said, «because, by accepting the Greek democratic soldiers, even though it disarmed them, still that country endangered its own independence.

«As regards your opinion, according to which, 'If we had known in 1946 that Tito was going to betray, we would not have started the war against the monarcho-fascists', this is wrong,»

Stalin pointed out, «because you must fight for the freedom of the people, even when you are encircled. However, it must be recognized that you were not in a situation of encirclement, because on your northern flank you had Albania and Bulgaria; all supported your just war. This is what we think,» concluded Comrade Stalin and added:

«What do you Albanian comrades think?»

«We accept all your views,» we replied.

«And you Greek comrades, Zachariades and Partsalides, what do you say?»

Comrade Nicos said:

«You have helped us greatly. Now we understand that we have not acted correctly and will try to correct our mistakes,» and so on.

«Very good,» Stalin said. «Then, this matter is considered closed.»

When we all were about to leave, Molotov intervened saying to Nicos Zachariades:

«I have something to say to you, Comrade Nicos. The Central Commitee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has received a letter from a comrade of yours, in which he writes that 'Nicos Zachariades is an agent of the British'. It is not up to us to solve this question, but we cannot keep it a secret without informing you about its content, especially when accusations against a leading comrade of the Greek Communist Party are made in it. Here is the letter. What can you say about this?»

«I can explain this matter,» replied Nicos Zachariades, and said: «When the Soviet troops released us from the concentration camp, I reported to the Soviet command with a request to be sent to Athens as soon as possible, because my place was there. Those were decisive moments and I had to be in Greece. At that time, however, your command had no means to transport me. So I was obliged to go to the British command where I asked them to send me to my homeland. The British put me on an aircraft, and that is how I returned to Greece. This comrade considers my return home with the help of the British command as though I have become an agent of the British, which is untrue.»

Stalin intervened and said:

«That's clear. This question is settled, too. The meeting is over!»

Stalin got up, shook hands with all of us in turn and we started to leave. The room was a long one and when we reached the exit door, Stalin called to us:

«Wait a moment, comrades! Embrace each other, Comrade Hoxha and Comrade Zachariades!»

We embraced.

When we were outside, Mitsos Partsalides remarked:

«There is no one like Stalin, he behaved like a father to us. Now everything is clear.»

Thus, the confrontation in the presence of Stalin was over.

THE ARVANITAS HAVE LIVED IN FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE

Honoured Mr. Jannis Carambishtis,

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the letter and the warm greetings you sent me on the occasion of the New Year and for the joy and feelings of admiration you express in it for the successes which our people have achieved.

In replying to your letter, I would like to take the opportunity to point out that the Albanian people nurture admiration and respect for the fraternal Greek people and will try to enhance their friendship with them, with whom you Arvanitas have lived for centuries in fraternal friendship, sharing your joys and sorrows together.

I, too, and my whole family wish you A Happy New Year and a long and happy life!

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, January 9, 1980

A BOOK EXPRESSING ADMIRATION FOR ALBANIA

Dear Mr Llambros Mallama,(**1**)

Thank you for the book expressing admiration for Albania which you sent me recently.(**2**) For me it is a valued souvenir from a sincere friend of the Albanian people, a new stone in the foundations of the traditional friendship between our two countries for which the most progressive and patriotic people, loyal sons of the fraternal Greek people, have worked in the past and continue to work to this day.

On this occasion, my wife, Nexhmije, and I, send you our warmest congratulations. On the occasion of the New Year 1981, I wish you good health, happiness in life and continuous successes

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1 Greek writer.

2 The book *Albania, the Bride of Eagles.*

in your creative work. Please, convey best wishes from both of us to your honoured wife.

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, December 30, 1980

FRIDAY
MAY 8, 1981

A BOOK WHICH THROWS LIGHT ON THE GREEK PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In recent days the Greek writer, Costis Papacongos, who lives in exile in Sweden, sent me a copy of his book *Kapedan Aris*, in the Greek language, a book which is an important contribution of the Greek patriots and revolutionaries and helps to throw light on the truth about the resistance movement and the fight of the heroic people of Greece against the Italian fascist and German nazi occupiers and the internal reactionary forces during the Second World War.

Today I sent Costis Papacongos a letter of thanks.

ARIS VELOUCHIOTIS — GLORIOUS SON OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

Honoured Mr. Costis Papacongos,

In recent days I received the valued book you have written, entitled *Kapedan Aris*, with your very cordial dedication to me, for which I thank you.

I have never met the valiant Kapedan Aris Velouchiotis, but I have been aware of his political activity and the fight he put up against the occupiers and their Greek collaborators, therefore I have appreciated and considered him as a co-fighter who fought heroically, making the sublime sacrifice for the liberation of the fraternal Greek people. I have expressed to J. V. Stalin my opinion about the personality and figure of Kapedan Aris. I have highly appreciated his revolutionary work, his loyalty to the Greek people and communism and I have condemned with anger and indignation those who tried to sully

the name of that outstanding fighter of the Greek resistance.

Mr. Costis Papacongos,

Your book is an important contribution of Greek patriots and revolutionaries, because it helps to throw light on the truth about the resistance movement and the fight of the heroic people of Greece during the Second World War against the nazi-fascist occupiers and local traitors. I shall read it with pleasure as soon as it has been translated for me by my comrades of the Greek minority who live with the Albanian people in brotherhood and steel unity, as our people say, like brothers, and then, I will have a more complete picture of the life of this great revolutionary and glorious son of your valiant, freedom-loving and progressive people.

Once again, I thank you from my heart for remembering me and for the valued book you sent me.

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, May 8, 1981

FRIDAY
JUNE 5, 1981

TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA, THE SICK MAN OF THE BALKANS, IS MANOEUVRING TO SET THE BALKAN PENINSULA ABLAZE

The Serbo-Russian intrigue incites Albanian-Greek hostility

Notes (1)

This is what TANJUG said yesterday, June 4: «Tirana, through its diplomatic missions in Washington and at the United Nations in New York, as well as through various scientific and university institutions in the USA, has distributed a political map of 'Greater Albania' in which it includes the territories of Greek Epirus from Preveza to Fiorina, including the cities of Janina, Igoumenitsa, Conitsa, etc., which it calls

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1 These notes served the author to write the article, «Titoite Yugoslavia, the Sick Man of the Balkans, Incites the Albanian-Greek Hostility», *Zëri i popullit*, June 11, 1981.

'the region of Çamëria occupied by Greece,'» and TANJUG added that the minister of foreign affairs has been asked a question about this in the Greek Parliament and that the newspaper *Acropolis* has published a commentary against «Albanian expansionism» and «the persecution of the Greek minority in Albania», etc.

— This intrigue of the Great-Serb clan and its agents, which has been concocted on the basis of mediaeval patterns, is one of the filthiest and also one of the most dangerous. It is the work of the Yugoslav secret police, the agents of which are among and operate in the diplomatic representations of Yugoslavia in Washington, New York and other American cities. These are the agents who, with the authorization of official circles of Yugoslavia and in co-ordination and collaboration with the blackest reactionary circles of Great-Greek chauvinism that exist in the USA, have organized such an anti-Albanian and anti-Greek fabrication.

— The slanders of the Yugoslav UDB place the scene in the United States of America precisely when everyone knows that our country does not have diplomatic relations with the USA and consequently has no kind of diplomatic mission in Washington; when our mission to the United Nations cannot go there, because it is not permitted to take a single step outside the zone of Manhattan, defined specifically for the people of our mission. It is alleged that the latter have distributed the so-called maps in the head-

quarters of the United Nations, too. But it is easy for the organs of UNO to check up on this and uncover the dangerous lie. It is the duty of the appointed persons to investigate the matter and to denounce the authors.

— It is not the purpose of this article to engage in polemics with Madame Tsoudheros (**2**) who, according to TANJUG, has addressed a question in parliament to Mr. Mitsotakis. (**3**) She has the right to ask one or a hundred and one questions about this Yugoslav fabrication and provocation and it is up to Mr. Mitsotakis to answer them.

— Likewise, we do not desire to enter into polemics with those organs of the Greek press which TANJUG mentions in order to illustrate its dangerous intrigue, to argue about their absurd claims to Albanian territories which they call «Vorio Epirus». Long ago this became a dead issue once and for all, and there is not the slightest chance that it can be used as an apple of discord between our two countries by the Yugoslav government and its secret police, in order to concoct such things as the «brilliant» discovery of the mysterious map prepared by them.

— The Great-Greek reactionary group, whether in Greece or in the United States of America, has never ceased its slanders. They have said many wicked things against the Albanians, have

2 Virginia Tsoudheros — member of the Greek Democratic Socialist Party.

3 At that time foreign minister of Greece.

charged us with many crimes against the Greek minority which is living happily in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and have printed various maps to define «the borders to which their Vorio-Epirus extends», but they have never published any map in order to say that the Albanians have territorial claims to Greek territory, that they demand Arta, Preveza, Janina up to Fiorina, or even further, as TANJUG pretends. Moreover, hitherto neither their press nor any Greek government has ever mentioned such an issue, because there have been no such claims from our side and this question has never been raised by us.

— Without a blush, one fine morning, following the tragic events which the Yugoslav chauvinists caused in Kosova, (**4**) where for the third or fourth time the secret police and the Serbian army committed a terrible genocide against Albanians who are living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, they brought out the allegation that we Albanians have distributed in Washington and in the headquarters of the United Nations a «map», in which we have allegedly included Çamëria within the borders of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!

— A «brilliant invention» of the satanic Yu-

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4 In the Spring of 1981, the Yugoslav leadership, using the army and tanks, launched a savage terror against the people of Kosova who had risen in powerful demonstrations against injustices, demanding that Kosova should be proclaimed a republic within the Yugoslav Federation.

goslav police to spoil the good friendship which exists between socialist Albania and democratic Greece and which is not to the advantage of the Great-Serbs and their Soviet secret allies, who hatched up this provocation in order to conceal the genocide in Kosova and to «prove» that «the Albanians are not only interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but are also interfering in Greece and have territorial claims against it», and in order to complete the theorem, they conclude that «the Albanians are nationalists, chauvinists and irredentists». We advise the Serbian secret police that they should extend their imagination about the Great-Albanian «chauvinism», accompanied with black and white or coloured maps, to Turkey also, because Albanians live there, too, and why not also to Italy to which the Arbëreshi emigrated five centuries ago. Hence, they could print maps of these countries, too, and distribute them in the streets of the United States of America or some other country.

— We tell the Great-Serbs that the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people through the centuries has been one of the finest and most sincere. Such a friendship is being rebuilt today, too, and you and your allies are trying in vain to ruin it.

— Such a friendship has never existed with the Great-Serbs because they have been cunning, chauvinists and oppressors.

— Precisely to hide the bloody crimes which you are committing in Kosova you, gentlemen of

Belgrade, have hired the pen of some Vorio-Epirote chauvinist journalist to talk about «crimes of genocide against the Greek minority in Albania, the imprisonment of half the minority population» and other slanders of this type.

Messrs Yugoslav agents, this is a very clumsy lie and slander, but these concoctions of yours do not worry us, because in fact they expose you in the eyes of world opinion and we publish your «discoveries» so that both the Greek people and the Albanian people and the Greek minority in Albania will know you well.

— You pretend to be concerned about «the life and fate» of the Greek minority in the PSR of Albania! Since you want to know about their life and fate let us tell you:

The Greek minority enjoys all the rights which the other citizens of our Republic have. These have been sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSRA and are applied rigorously. There is no discrimination in the political, economic or social fields against the members of the minority. They have been guaranteed their rights and the conditions have been created for the unrestricted use and cultivation of their mother tongue, the preservation and development of their culture, folklore and traditions. In every village of the Greek minority there are schools of various categories and in the elementary schools the teaching is done in the Greek mother tongue. A newspaper and many books are published in the Greek language for the minority. Every boy or girl who

completes any type of schooling, either secondary or higher school, and there are hundreds and thousands of them, is guaranteed a job before he completes his studies, not only in his own region, but anywhere in Albania. The leaders of all organs of power in the minority zones, the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives, the secretaries and bureaus of the Party, the judges, teachers, agronomists, doctors and other specialists are the sons and daughters of minority families. The Albanians and the members of the minority fought and sacrificed together and triumphed together. The Albanians had suffered greatly, but the members of the minority even more, therefore, the Party and the government thought that they should be among the first to be helped and that is what was done. Major investments have been made in the plains of Dropull and Vurg where the bulk of the minority population lives and this has had a direct influence on the improvement of the life of the people. The minority villages are among the most flourishing in Albania. Everywhere new houses have been built, in all of them there is electric light, water-supply systems, kindergartens, nurseries, hospitals or outpatient clinics, houses and hearths of culture, and a broad network of shops.

— Greek citizens from all walks of life have visited socialist Albania. They have gone to the minority villages, have talked freely with the members of the minority, have been invited to

meals in their homes, have sung and danced with them and have always written with great admiration about the Albanian people and what they have seen and heard in Albania and amongst the minority people. They will certainly be rightly indignant about the monstrous slanders of the Yugoslav Titoites.

— Whether the Yugoslavs and their allies like it or not, the relations between Albania and Greece have been strengthened and will be strengthened in every field of life.

— In conclusion, we indignantly reject this vile slander which is a continuation of many other slanders by the Titoites.

Although its peoples waged an heroic war against nazi-fascism, Yugoslavia, an offspring of the Treaty of Versailles, inherited, preserved and is laying on the blood-stained table all the intrigues which were summed up at that time under the name «the Balkan problems». The Tito clan, and especially the post-Tito clan, is trying to turn the Balkans and the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia itself into a powder keg. The facts show that between the various clans within the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia there are divisions which may erupt in clashes among nations. Disagreements with Bulgaria have begun over Macedonia, they made a bloodbath of Kosova, they are attacking Albania without reason and in collaboration with the Vorio-Epirotes are inciting and hatching up anti-Albanian intrigues.

— The Great-Serb clan has lit the fuse and started the fire. From our side everything is being done to prevent the catastrophe which the Great-Serbs want to cause, but day by day they are escalating their activities against the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia and against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

— On this occasion we warn world opinion that it must not remain neutral or indifferent, because irreparable things might occur. However, if, through no fault of ours, something does occur, not only will Yugoslavia itself be damaged, but the peace in Europe, and perhaps throughout the world, will be placed in jeopardy. Sarajevo must not be repeated!

Mankind must learn from the misfortunes it suffers and the event of Sarajevo will become a lesson when the causes that led up to and what happened after this event are studied objectively and realistically. In any case, there will be no gambling with the fate of socialist Albania and the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia, as occurred after Sarajevo and after the Treaty of Versailles.

WEDNESDAY
OCTOBER 21. 1981

A NEW GOVERNMENT IN GREECE

Andreas Papandreou, leader of the «Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement» Party which triumphed in the general elections, formed the new Greek government and today took the oath before President Caramanlis.

During the electoral campaign Papandreou made many promises about overcoming the grave consequences of the economic crisis such as un-employment, high prices, the fall in the standard of living, that is, about changes in the country's grave economic situation and also in the field of foreign policy.

ATTEMPTS BY ANYONE TO DISRUPT THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE WILL FAIL

NOVEMBER 1, 1981

The 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was opened in Tirana. In the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the magnificent transformations which have been made in our country, the brilliant prospects which await our people. He also analysed contemporary political problems and, dwelling on the situation in the Balkans, he treated the question of the relations of our country with Greece.

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole,

but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans «permanently into a powder keg», are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by

not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states...

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields. Commercial exchanges have been extended and are developing successfully to the advantage of both sides. The collaboration in the field of culture, the coming and going of artistic groups, the reciprocal visits of people of art, education and science, have assisted our peoples to become better acquainted with one another's achievements and progress. They have served to strengthen the ancient and traditional friendship which links our two countries. Convinced that the relations of friendship and understanding between Albania and Greece fully respond to the common interests and aspirations of our peoples, the PSR of Albania will make every effort to

extend and develop these relations in the future.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek government and the Greek people, also, are well-disposed and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and of his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will be ceaselessly strengthened and will flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 10, 1982

MEETING WITH THE ELECTORS OF THE ELECTORAL ZONE

Today I had a meeting with the electors of the electoral zone no. 210 of Tirana in which I have been nominated as deputy to the People's Assembly.

In the speech which I made on this occasion I spoke about questions of internal and foreign policy. I also spoke about the special attention which our country pays to relations with the neighbouring states. I pointed out that what has always inspired this stand is the desire to live as good neighbours, to always have useful relations and to build up normal collaboration which is based on the principles of complete equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, respect for national sovereignty, non-violation of territorial integrity and exchanges on the basis of mutual interest.

OUR STAND IN RELATIONS WITH THE NEIGHBOURING STATES IS INSPIRED BY THE DESIRE TO LIVE AS GOOD NEIGHBOURS

From the speech in the meeting with the electors of the electoral zone no. 210 of Tirana

NOVEMBER 10, 1982

We have good relations with the Italian people and we do not confuse them with Mussolini's fascists who spread death and destruction in our country. In my wartime notes I read with pleasure the words that General Azzi, who, after the capitulation of Mussolini's army, confidently surrendered his whole army to the General Staff of our partisan army and the Albanian people, said to me when we met in the village of Arbana, in the vicinity of Tirana, «We are grateful to the Albanian people and partisans who saved and sheltered thousands of my soldiers, sons of

the Italian people. I personally and the Italian people will not forget this generosity. I will be a friend of the Albanian people till I die,» continued General Azzi. And he remained a friend until he died.

The regimes of our two countries are opposed to each other, we have our own laws and way of life, and the Italians have theirs. Nevertheless, we have normal trade and cultural relations with Italy, which we are ready to extend on the basis of mutual benefit and without interfering in each other's internal affairs. If any Italian government considers these relations of no interest, it may do whatever it likes, this will not affect us much. Nevertheless, we think differently — that these relations are useful to both sides. Ours is not an isolated and closed country, we have things to sell to Italy and things to buy from it for hard cash, as we have with many other countries.

A glorious Arbëreshi community also links us with the Italian people. Neither we nor the Italians should forget Garibaldi's fine words and high esteem for the Albanians and the Arbëreshi.

For five centuries the Arbëreshi have been living in Calabria and Sicily. This community has given Italy and Albania outstanding people. While living in friendship with the Italian people, the Arbëreshi have preserved their Albanian customs and language through the centuries. This community, which draws us closer to the Italian people, is a factor for friendship.

The Albanian people and the Turkish people have a great love for each other. We make «diplomatie love» with nobody. This is not the custom of the Albanian but, when we pledge our word, we keep it and do not turn whichever way the wind blows...

We love and respect the Greek people, because they nurture the same feelings of friendship towards the Albanian people. We are sincere with each other. Neither wishes the other ill, but only well. These are historical links, cemented with the blood shed together against the same occupiers. We do not confuse the feelings of the Greek people with those of the chauvinists.

We shall develop our relations of friendship with the Greek people further. The Greek people call the Albanian heroes of the Greek Revolution of 1821 who fought under the command of Ypsilanti, *Arvanites penemeni* and *palicaria Arvanites.** Capo d'Istria and the Russian czars, the Serbian krals and the Moldavian voivodes, betrayed the Greek Revolution, but the Albanians, with Marko Boçari at the head, with Ali Pasha Tepelena and the Çaparajs, remained loyal to it to the death.

The government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Greek governments — right-wing, new democratic or socialist, have always considered the friendship between the

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* Famous Albanians and brave Albanians (Greek in the original).

Albanian people and the Greek people as a pressing political necessity. Regrettably, however, for the past 40 years, without any reason, the «law on the state of war with Albania», an absurd law without any basis, which is condemned both by the Albanian people and the Greek people, as well as by world opinion, has been maintained in Greece. Every reasonable and realistic person in Greece understands that such a law hampers the shortening of ways for an even more friendly development in the direction of Arta, Preveza, and Janina as well as the whole of Greece.

Below Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the state of relations with Yugoslavia; he pointed out that the chiefs of Belgrade not only have lent a deaf ear to the state official stand of the PSRA towards Yugoslavia, but with all their propaganda and diplomatic means have conducted a whole compaign of slanders and attacks against socialist Albania and its clear policy; he exposed the Great-Serb chauvinist stand maintained against the Albanians living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, etc.

... Messrs the Yugoslav leaders arrogate to themselves the right to raise their voice about the «injustices» the Bulgarians, the Greeks or the Albanians allegedly commit against the Macedonians of Pirin and Aegeus or the tiny Macedonian minority in Albania, while we, according to them, have no such right. They accuse us of

«interfering» in their internal affairs when we defend the rights, under the laws of the Federation, of our brothers, (**1**) whom they not only deny their rights, but whom they kill, imprison, and force into emigration, while Serbian and Montenegrin colonists are brought into their birthplace to replace them.

Recently the Yugoslavs, assisted by their friend — Russia, have been gathering up «Macedonians of the Aegeus» from all over the place in order to have them as a vanguard for Greece. One fine morning we shall hear that Alexander the Great was a Slav, too. Why shouldn't they do even this? They have a precedent in the Great-Russian «historian» of the 19th century, Vasilyevsky. In his book on Byzantium he goes to such lengths as to write there in black and white that since the modern Greeks are Orthodox christians, they are Slavs, hence they do not originate from the ancient Greeks who gave mankind one of the most brilliant civilizations in the world. With the full conviction of a Great-Russian chauvinist, Vasilyevsky states quite boldly in his book: «The modern Greeks are of Slav origin.»

The chauvinists of Northern Epirus and certain Greek bishops do the same thing when, basing themselves on the statistics of Phanari of the time of Sultan Hamid II, they describe all

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1 Reference is to Albanians who live on their own territories in Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia.

the Orthodox christians in Albania as Greeks. And these so-called Greeks who were supposed to number 400,000 at that time, have remained 400,000 to this very day, although almost 80 years have gone by. According to them, the so-called Greeks of Northern Epirus have neither increased nor decreased, have had neither births nor deaths.

Likewise, they say, 28,000 Greeks of Northern Epirus languish in «Albanian prisons» at all times and all seasons. Unfortunately for those Greek bishops, I can tell the Greek people and government on my full authority that in the whole of Albania there are only 33 persons of the Greek minority serving short sentences of imprisonment for various offences, and only 4 of them for political offences. Why is this so with the Greek minority of our country? This is so because our people of the Greek minority are good, honest people, like the Greek people themselves, because they enjoy all the rights which every Albanian citizen enjoys, because everywhere among the Greek minority everything is in their own hands. There the cadres of the Party and state are only people from the Greek minority. In every village of the Greek minority there are primary schools and in many of them there are agricultural secondary schools, while in Gjirokastra there is a teachers' training school in Greek. All the other cadres, such as doctors, agronomists, veterinarians, economists, and teachers are people of the Greek minority; and there

are houses of culture everywhere. The incomes of the people of the Greek minority are among the highest in our country. We Albanians live like brothers with the people of the Greek minority in our common Homeland. The Greek minority in Albania is not groaning, Messrs the chauvinists of Northern Epirus, but singing and prospering.

As for religion, you need not worry about it. To believe or not to believe is a personal right, a question of conscience and not an institutional question: religion cannot be imposed according to the desire or will of the hodjas, the bishops or the Pope of Rome.

I follow the Greek press and have read the questions that some Greek or West-German journalists have put to the people of the Greek minority in our country and the answers they have received from them. One of these journalists asked an old woman of our Greek minority this question:

«Where is your church, where is your priest?»

She answered: «Neither the church nor the priest did anything to save me from the aghas and the beys. When they held sway, they gave me neither bread to eat nor water to drink, neither electricity to light my home, nor school for my sons and daughters. Only the National Liberation War, only my Party of Labour, gave me all these blessings. That is why I love the Party and not the priest.»

The newspaperman went on with his questions to the old woman: «What about the sins you have committed, to whom will you confess?»

Again the old woman replied with subtle humor: «My son has told me, 'Live well in this world, mother, and as for the other world, blame me and my Party for your sins when you get there'.»

There are hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the world who do not want to believe in god. Then, why all this astonishment at socialist Albania?

Our state is atheistic by the will of its people and there is no moral or material force which can impose on it anything different. Our people are masters of their own fate and sentiments. The screams of Northern Epirus chauvinists do not bother the Greek minority and socialist Albania in the least, even if the chauvinists are stirred up and paid under the lap by somebody else, and that somebody is not the fraternal Greek people.

THE SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES OF THE GREEK MINORITY ARE A RESULT OF THE PEOPLE'S BEING IN POWER

On January 21, 1983 Comrade Enver Hoxha received a letter from the cooperativists of Lower Dropull, in which they informed the leader of the Party and people about the successes and victories they had achieved in the economic and social fields. On this occasion Comrade Enver Hoxha sent this letter to the people of Dropull:

Dear comrade cooperativists, specialists and cadres,

It is not quite five years since I last visited Dropull and I have a great desire to come back to you again to talk over things with the people of the minority who are so kindly and patriotic,

to see the beautiful villages of your zone and the achievements about which you told me in the letter you sent me. I always follow your achievements with interest and I am very happy when I hear that all the brothers and sisters of the minority, including those of Dropull, are fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans, increasing their incomes, raising their standard of living and culture and living happily in our socialist Homeland. These achievements and the pledges which you, brothers and sisters of the higher-type agricultural cooperative of Sofratika, have taken this year are fruit of your wisdom and tireless work and your all-round mobilization to accomplish the great tasks which the 8th Congress of the Party set. Your progress, the new life and the revolutionary optimism which characterize you have their source in the unshakeable confidence you have in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

Your successes and victories, like those of our whole people, have been achieved under the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania. They are vivid testimony to its line and Marxist-Leninist internationalist stand, the result of the people's being in power. Like all our people, you, too, brothers and sisters of Sofratika, are in power. It is known that if the people are not in power there is no happy life, no freedom, no proletarian democracy, and human rights cannot be protected. If anyone tries to damage these things strike him down fearlessly, because

beside you, you always have the Party of Labour, the wise leadership of the whole Albanian people and your leadership, that thinks about and safeguards the general good. All of you know this and see it day by day. Therefore, strengthen your Party organization in the cooperative with those who are the most resolute and brave, the most intelligent, hard-working and capable, fill the people's councils and management committees of the cooperatives with the finest sons and daughters of the minority, because in this way things will go better for you, the Party and state will be strengthened and your cooperativist economy will achieve higher levels of development.

The Party has always taken care to ensure that you learn well and use the beautiful Greek language which is your mother tongue. All of you, cooperativists, cadres and specialists, teachers and pupils should continue to work tirelessly to know and further perfect not only the language and fine customs, but also the beautiful songs and dances, the rich folklore and everything good which the talented people of the minority, like the people all over our country, have created and are creating. For everything which has to do with the development of your mother tongue, traditions and folklore, your educational and cultural needs and the publication of these valuable things, you will have the unsparing assistance and support of the Party and the people's power as you have always had. In the future, the Party will create more beautiful

things and greater prosperity day by day, for you and for the whole people.

The life of our working people was bitter in the past, which you, quite rightly, have consigned to museums, (**1**) so that it will not be forgot-

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1 In the letter which the cooperativists of Lower Dropull sent Comrade Enver Hoxha, amongst other things they wrote:

«And what comparisons can we make with the past?»

While the older folk say: «Where were you Dropull, where are you today?», «Today with a mother, yesterday without a name!», the younger generations add: «Our life is song and light/our step to the heights.» Yesterday the people of Dropull were always worried about the unproductive soil which was like a barren wife, while today we sing: «Yesterday hungry we searched for crumbs/today we have grain in tons.» In our museums we have «the costume of taxes» of the people of Dropull: «Taxes for the house, for children, for windows, for the chimney or fireplace, taxes for the lights, for the livestock, for the fruit-trees in the garden, taxes for..., there were more taxes than patches on our clothes. The priest demanded taxes even from the dead». There in the museum are the cradles left empty, because the monstrous emigration left the young brides childless. The shoulders of our mothers and grandmothers still bear the scars left by the rope, which held the barrel of water which they brought from the foot of Libohova where the monster-agha sold it to them drop by drop dearer than gold. That is why today they sing: «Dropull homes will thirst no more Water now comes right to the door.»

Today our villages glow with happiness and this comes not only from the hewn stone of our whitewashed houses, but from the crystal-clear line of the Party, our toil, our thought and the joy in our hearts. About 80 per cent of the houses are new, built since the formation of cooperatives. As soon as each new family is created it starts life in a new home»

ten. Now that past belongs to history. Therefore, any attempt of internal or external class enemies to revive it will fail. Nevertheless, we know that our enemies will never be reconciled to our socialist reality and will never give up the aim of dividing and weakening us, therefore, we keep the dictatorship of the proletariat strong, always keep our eyes open and our powder dry. We will never allow the black past to return to our country. The guarantee for this is the unity of the people and the Party against which every enemy will smash his head, just as has occurred hitherto.

The wars against common enemies, foreign occupiers and ruling classes who sucked our blood have linked the Albanian people and the Greek minority as firmly as flesh to bone. This sincere fraternal love has been tempered and strengthened more and more by the Party, both during the great National Liberation War and during the nearly four decades of the construction of socialism. Albanians and people of the minority fought together and together won their freedom, took power into their own hands, ensured the freedom and independence of the Homeland and their happy socialist life.

Strengthen your unity with one another, always love Albania and the Albanian people with that ardent love which characterizes you, because the Albanian people love you just as ardently, close your ranks, Albanians and people of the minority, because when you march shoul-

der to shoulder, our whole country progresses and prospers, socialism is built, the human spirit is beautified and Albania is made impregnable. Love the fraternal Greek people whom the Albanian people also love and respect. As always, we wish the Greek people well, just as they wish us.

Once again I congratulate you on the successes achieved and on the objectives you have set yourselves for this year. I am convinced that you, who have always given proofs of socialist patriotism and your love and indomitable will for work and an ever better life, through your tireless and intelligent work will rank your cooperative among the most outstanding in the Republic. May you always have success!

Yours

Enver Hoxha

Tirana, January 27, 1983

POGRADEC
JULY-AUGUST 1983

ABOUT THE BRILLIANT GREEK PHILOSOPHY

Notes

My reading and studies about the Greek civilization I began when I was a pupil at the Lycée Français in Korça, to the extent they were included in the curriculum of that school and could be learned there. But I must say, at this school I was fascinated with my first introduction to the siege of Troy, the Achaeans, Achilles, Agamemnon, Patrocles, Ulixes and Hector, in other words, I learned about Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In the Lycée I received a synopsis of knowledge about this civilization from my teacher and headmaster, Sotir Papakristo, one of the most outstanding Albanian Hellenists. He told us not only about Homer and the Homeric heroes, but also about the other great men of ancient Greece, like Aristophanes, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Socrates. Plato and Aristotle, as well as about the various schools the latter led. Included in this historical-philosophical collection of intellectual

knowledge about the wide-ranging and brilliant thinking of Greek civilization were the myths and mythology and the great efforts in physics and philosophy, based on a new logic, on a new conception founded on reason, but frequently mixed up with mysticism and various philosophical speculations.

I can say that what I gained was an asset, but not orderly, not classified, not with the various stages of this great material and spiritual civilization arranged in chronological order. For me, however, it was a sound basis which I was to enrich later with wider general reading and particular studies and with arguments not only from the literary, historical and philosophic aspects, but also from the archaeological and architectural aspects.

Already I had developed a passion for studying the history of peoples, of human thought, of the development of various civilizations, of their destruction and the flowering of new civilizations on the ruins of those civilizations thousands of years old. For me this work was a passion which fostered, encouraged and opened to me horizons of thought and action, impelled me to work and to understand the history of my own people better, to seek the materialist historical truth, and to understand how the phenomena of nature were recognized and mastered by mankind through the centuries in different civilizations. This passion for such study never made me an idle dreamer, a blind follower. On the contrary, by follow-

ing the links of social development I gained a better understanding of the materialist development of history and accumulated in my mind a wealth of material which led me directly to my great teachers of Marxism-Leninism.

My being a son of the Albanian people, of this outstanding, heroic people, with long experience of suffering and hardships, directed me towards seeking the positive, towards experimental and logical knowledge, towards materialist-philosophical comparisons and conclusions.

I can say that my being from Gjirokastra has influenced me to feel a sense of good neighbourliness with the Greek people. I have hated great-Greek chauvinism of «megali idhea» which demanded and fought to include Gjirokastra and Korça, purely Albanian places, among the most outstanding of my Homeland, within the borders of Greece, and which claimed that the whole of Southern Albania up to the Shkumbin River formed what it called «Vorio Epirus». My profound patriotic sentiments, implanted generation after generation by my people who were fighting for freedom, and by my own family, by my fellow citizens and patriotic teachers, strengthened in me the lofty feelings of defending my people and Homeland, the feeling for freedom, and defending the truth in history, in science, and in social relations within the country and outside it.

The fact that our people coexist so well with the Greek minority that lives and works alongside us in our country also fostered in me respect

for the history and civilization of the Greek people. This friendship existed also between my family and members of the Greek minority in Dropull. Likewise, the glorious history of the Albanians who lived in Greece, where they had settled from the 13th-14th centuries onward, was a bond of the friendship between the Arvanites and the Greeks. As early as 1821, the Albanians with Boçari, Xhavella, Miauli, Kollokotroni and others as their leaders, fought with outstanding heroism in the Greek Revolution of the 19th century for the liberation of the Greek people.

These things and my passion for the Greek civilization have impelled me to study it and deepen the knowledge which I had gained from my lessons at school.

The Greek world of antiquity is such a broad and rich field of knowledge that it takes a lifetime to assimilate even a synopsis of the studies of its different periods.

Of course, in my studies of the Greek culture, as in the study of the culture of any given people, I have had to acquaint myself with the settlements of Greeks, with the land, with the people and with their material and spiritual development.

Studies of the establishment of the Greek people in the Balkan Peninsula, on the shores washed by the waters of the Aegean Sea, on the coast of Asia Minor, around the Black Sea, on the shores of Southern Italy, Sicily, in Cyrene, and in the Island of Crete, as well as the develop-

ment of the Greek civilization on these territories from the 8th century before our era, have interested me.

Achaea, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, Argolis, Laconia in the Peloponnesus, the Island of Crete, Mycenae, etc., have played a major role all through Greek history. (The British archaeologist Evans (**1**) made discoveries at Cnossos of Crete.)

The plains of Boeotia, the Island of Eubea, the Peninsula of Attica and the mountains of Parnassus played an exceptionally important role in antiquity. The role of islands and the sea was very great in the development of the civilization, the trade and cultural exchanges between Greeks and other peoples of the Mediterranean basin and the Near East, the Assyrians, the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Medes, the Phoenicians and others. Among the books in my personal library I have some which tell of the Aegean world, of the epoch of the palaces of Crete, and of the excavations at Mycenae and Troy by Schliemann (**2**) and Evans. History is greatly indebted to archaeology.

The ideograms of Cnossos dating from the beginning of the second millenium, which Evans called hieroglyphs, turned out to be a syllabary system, and thus, the mystery of inscriptions on stone, on slabs and the paintings on vases was solved.

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1 Evans, Arthur John (1851-1941).
2 Schliemann Heinrich (1822-1890).

The development of agriculture, of cities, of artisan production and, on this background, the development of a society with various activities at this period is very interesting and valuable.

The Minoan thalassocracy* was a war-like civilization with powerful mariners, savage sea pirates. Thucydides, (**3**) the Greek historian and sophist from Thrace, compared Crete and the Minotaur to Athens and the figure of Athena and the role it played in the 5th century before our era.

Excavations on the site of Troy, which lies on the northwestern extremity of Anatolia, not far from the Dardanelles, our first knowledge of which came through the Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were carried out by Schliemann. later by his collaborator. Dorbfeld, and finally by Blegen's American group in 1932-1938 and brought to light seven cities one on top of the other which existed from the 32nd to the 7th centuries before our era. The origin of the ornaments found there, which Schliemann attributed to Andromache, is disputable.

The most fascinating of the 7 cities is Troy II. The treasures found there are more ancient than those of Mycenae. Who inhabited this fortress city? Its civilization is closer to that of the Aegean than to that of the Near East.

Thus, the Cretan civilization was extended

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* Greek: *thalassa* — sea, and *kratos* — power.

3 460-400 b.o.e.

outside the island, but from the beginning of the 16th century before our era, there also existed other centres such as Troy, Cyprus, Santorini or Thera, and likewise, continental Greece.

A great earthquake, a terrible upheaval wiped out everything in Crete with the exception of the famous palace of Cnossos. This occurred, say the archaeologists, in the middle of the 15th century before our era. Some say that it was the volcano on the Island of Thera which caused the destruction of cities and fortresses.

The Mycenaens occupied Cnossos. Later, according to Dr. Evans, a group of Greeks from continental Greece established their dynasty in Cnossos. The brilliance of Mycenae faded.

Troy, like Cnossos, is a problem for the scholars. According to them, Troy VI was destroyed by an earthquake in the 13th century before our era, but according to archaeological discoveries, was rebuilt within that same century. It was replaced with Troy VII, which adopted the Mycenaen civilization, but at a lower level. Troy VII was destroyed by a brutal invasion.

Could this destruction of Troy VII, caused by a Mycenaen tribe, have been the War of Troy? Could that expedition be the origin of the legendary cycle narrated by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*? It is said, and this can be imagined from the toponymy, too, that the Achaeans, who lived in a patriarchal society dominated by princes, attacked Troy and this became the subject of the epic.

The Ionian Civilization

Ionia, a province of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Aegean Sea, in the present Gulf of Smyrna (Izmir — Turkey), is considered the place where Greek science was born about the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century before our era. The first Greek philosophical school was founded in Miletus, one of the cities of Ionia.

In the Ionian League there were many weaknesses. In Miletus and Samos rich and poor were in permanent conflict. This was one side of the medal. The other side was a brilliant civilization: monumental buildings, like the temple of Hera in Samos and of Artemis in Ephesus, marvellous sculptures and statues the beauty of which contrasted with the huge, graceless, uninteresting statues of the continent; the ceramics of Clazomenae (**4**) were produced in Ionia and exported to all parts of the Hellenic world.

In these centuries something marvellous developed in Ionia, something great, which was like a revolution: the explanation of the world and of the phenomena which encircled man, stripped of myths and mythology. In their explanation of the world, history, geography and philosophy, in particular, broke the bonds imposed by theol-

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4 Greek town in Asia Minor.

ogy up to that time and based themselves on direct observation and logical reasoning.

The Ionian philosophers were encouraged by the astronomical and mathematical research of the Assyrians and Babylonians. They observed the phenomena of nature from a completely materialist stand-point, trying to derive the explanation of the world and its structure (cosmogony) outside the limits set by mythology. This was a colossal stride on the road of knowledge and scientific observation.

Thus, in their seeking to discover the formation and structure of the world, the thinkers of Miletus set out on a new course to provide overall explanations. This was a true beginning after the fog of mythology, full of unfounded and disorderly imaginings, which obscured knowledge of the world.

They saw and became convinced that the world had its own «single rule» which had to be the starting-point to explain its «birth, formation, development and movement».

In this oneness, in this unity, they saw the beginning, the initial cause of everything which occurs in nature and operates in the daily life of man.

From the idea that the observation of the phenomena of nature enables one to work out rules of universal value, capable of explaining everything, they were called **physicists** (from the word *physis* — nature).

Some of the Ionian philosophers were:

Thales (**5**) of Miletus. He left no written text. He considered water the first substantial beginning which is found in the origin of everything which exists. He says that above the earth lies the sky in hemispherical form, the discoidal space, while the earth itself floats on the surface of the water and seas.

Anaximander (**6**) of Miletus. A disciple of Thaïes. The first philosopher who left a written work.

Anaximenes (**7**) pointed out that the discoidal earth is not supported by the water which encircles it, but both the water and the earth are supported by the air. The sky loses the aspect of the dome.

These three Miletan philosophers did not form each separate philosophical schools as Aristotle, Plato and others did later. They were similar to one another in their reasoning and discussions, but were outstanding because they followed a revolutionary course and broke with the preceding philosophers and their mythological imaginings. A number of physical, astronomical and meteorological observations are attributed to these philosophers of Miletus. The invention of the sun dial, for example, is usually attributed to Anaximander.

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5 End of the 7th century — 624, middle of the 6th century — 547 b.o.e.

6 610-546 b.o.e.

7 About 585-525 b.o.e.

From the links which they had with the daily life of the city many amazing anecdotes emerged, especially about Thaïes.

For the fragments of their philosophical thinking handed down to us later we are obliged to the Aristotelian tradition and, as the outstanding scholars of the Greek philosophy of the 7th and 6th centuries say, frequently it is difficult to separate quotations from their texts from later interpretations. This, say these scholars, comes about because their philosophical thoughts were expressed in new concepts which were worked out later by those who have brought them down to our days. Therefore, say these scholars, it is difficult for us to distinguish the exact expressions and concepts of the philosophers referred to from those of later philosophers of the Aristotelian school, who preserved and transmitted to us this priceless treasury of human thought.

Thaïes of Miletus sought to find and explain what must have been that material beginning which constituted the source, the origin of life. He arrived at the conclusion that this beginning was water. Aristotle explains this thought of Thaïes by saying that *semence*, the seed which creates life, is liquid.

The idea that «the world floated on water» and the other idea that «the spirit penetrates into everything», that the world is «filled with gods», had its source in the ancient philosophies of peoples in the Middle East with whom the

Greeks had continuous commercial relations, intellectual exchanges, philosophical debates, etc. This meant that matter was alive, with «a spirit» and that man was powerless in the formation of it.

With these ideas, the myth was rationalized and a new road was opened: an explanation of the phenomena of nature was found in the nature of the phenomena themselves and no longer in mythology, and in essence this was a materialist outlook. Engels said:

> *«Of course, the materialist world outlook is the understanding of nature as it is, without any kind of alien additions, and therefore, even for the Greek philosophers from the outset it was something which was self-evident.»**

The thinking of Anaximander appears more complex than that of Thaïes. Anaximander does not accept the idea that an element like water could be the origin of life and dominate over nature. Therefore, in his treatise Nature he conceived a nameless, undefined, perpetual and boundless original substance to which he gave the obscure name *apeiron*.

What does this name mean? It means *l'infini ou l'indéterminé.***

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* F. Engels, The Dialectics of Nature, Tirana 1973, p. 228, Alb. ed.

** The infinite or indeterminate (French in the original).

Herein, says this Thalesean philosopher, lies the source of life and movement. «The equilibrium of the world lies in the opposites» (hot and cold, dry and wet), he says. From time to time, one of these dominates the other. The seasons of the year prove this, he explains. According to him, «the earth has no need for a support, because it is like a drum on columns. The world remains there due to the attraction of opposites.»

Anaximenes, for his part, turned to another original beginning with which man has to do every hour and every day of his life, the air, which fills space and changes through «condensation» and «rarefaction».

Anaximenes says that the air is the original element of the world (the universe) and all the movements of winds waters, stars, etc., are the effect of two opposites, condensation and rarefaction.

All these concepts of these three philosophers of Miletus are attempts to find global explanations, based on logical reasoning, of astronomical phenomena or of the origin of man. As early as the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries they proposed «fantastic structures, but which have a rational logic».

Xenophanes of Colophon lived in the 6th century before our era. He was a poet-theologian. He continued the philosophical speculations. He does not accept, but opposes any anthropomorphic vision of gods. He proposes a single, good, eternal, indestructible beginning which coexists

with the world (the universe) and which he calls god.

For Xenophanes of Colophon organic life is born from a «mixture of the earth and the water».

Heraclitus of Ephesus lived in the first half of the 6th century before our era. With this philosopher the physicist thinking and encyclopaedic spirit disappear and are replaced with pure philosophical reasoning which insists on the mental capacities of man with intelligence as «the intuitive factor for human existence».

All that mankind inherited from the philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus is contained in a few fragments. This does not permit one to create a coherent view of his brilliant thinking and has become a source of many contradictory interpretations.

Pythagoras of Samos (the 6th century before our era) and **Anaxagoras** (**8**) of Clazomenae, became protagonists of his philosophy in Croton of Magna Grecia (a part of Southern Italy and Sicily, where there were many Greek colonies, was known by this name at that time).

Pythagoras, an idealist philosopher and mathematician.

This great man of ancient Greece was born on the island of Samos in the Aegean Sea in the 6th century before our era. He emigrated to Croton of Magna Grecia where he died.

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8 500-428 b.o.e.

Empedocles (**9**) has said about Pythagoras: «During his long life he summed up all the knowledge of ten or twenty human generations.»

Pythagoras was the pupil of the Ionian philosopher, the atheist Anaximander, and the mystic Pherecydes, the 6th century before our era. He travelled extensively among the islands of Greece, to Asia Minor, the cradle of Hellenism, and to Egypt. He was a friend of Polycrates, the ruler of Samos, a champion of commercial relations and public works. (The story of Herodotus, the Greek historian, about the 900 metres long tunnel to carry water from one point of the island to another, drilled with a rare technique and in a remarkable way. The tunnel was spoken of like a beautiful «fable» by Herodotus, but in the 19th century of our era it was sought and discovered by an archaeologist.)

Aristotle says about Pythagoras that the inhabitants of Croton (a city in Magna Grecia and residence of Pythagoras) «considered him as the son of Apollo» (the figure from Greek mythology that personified the god of the sun). While a proverb said: «Among reasoning beings, there are gods, there are heroes and beings like Pythagoras.»

«He worked miracles, consulted with the stars of the sky, descended into Hades,» etc. The authority of Pythagoras was so great that his

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9 490-435 b.o.e.

disciples said: «The master said it.» This was the law.

For a myth to be born and grow there must be an appropriate kernel or seed. «Mediocre people and charlatans cannot create myths, and if they do create something, it disappears quickly.»

The Pythagorean concept of the world withstood centuries and came down to our days. He was the first to use the word *philosophia*.

The «harmony» of Pythagoras in a broad sense, as the Englishman Yokle calls it, rests on the number, «the figure» (Yokle Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*).

In this great vision of the world, Pythagoras combines science with religion, mathematics with music, medicine with cosmology, the body with the soul, in a «brilliant synthesis», and the world comprises a unity in which everything is linked together.

The Sphere of Pythagoras

Pythagoras thought that in the centre of the universe there is a great fire and he considered the earth a planet which rotates around this central body. He reached this conclusion through music, speaking about the «music of spheres». The length of the wire which produces the note depends on the height at which the note is set and the consonant intervals of the scale are produced with a simple numerical relationship: octaves 2:1, fifths 3:2, and fourths 4:3, etc.

The Pythagoreans contributed the decisive

idea of the connection of quality with quantity, of the reduction of the world to numerical ratios. With this the first step was taken in the life of man towards the mathematicizing of human observations and, consequently, this gave birth to the **beginning of science**, but mixed with many mystical and theological elements. In this Lenin saw the linking of

> *«... **embryos** of scientific thinking and imagination in the manner of religion or mythology.»**

«The heavenly chorus of numbers» began. «The strings of the lyre of Orpheus», the creation of mythology, the legendary poet and musician of Thrace, «are of secondary importance. They could have any form provided they preserve the proportions». «Music consists of the ratios, of the numbers, of the structure of the scale. These ratios are eternal, everything else disappears. The ratios are of a spiritual nature and not material, they perform astonishing mental actions.»

The conclusion is drawn from this that «the geometrical forms and the mathematical laws are the most effective means for purging the spirit of earthly passions and the main link between man and gods.»

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* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, p. 272, Alb. ed.

The line which linked music with numbers became the pivot of the Pythagorean system.

Hence, the Ionian philosophy was materialist, in the sense that it was directed particularly towards seeking the original material beginning, from which the world and the universe was formed. For the Pythagoreans, this beginning lay in the proportions, the form, and the plane: *Eidos et schema*, the relation and not the things in relation.

«Everything is material» and comes into life only when the disturbances arise through the transitions «from the substance to form», «from the structure to function», «from the atoms to continuity», «from the minute bodies to waves», etc.

The axis of the Pythagorean system took two directions: on the one hand, towards the stars, and on the other hand, towards the body and spirit of man. The axis was supported on a base with two concepts: «harmony» and «katharsis» (purging).

The Pythagoreans considered the «body» as a musical instrument in which each string had «the proper tension and the necessary balance» in its own opposites, such as «good and evil», «light and darkness», «hot and cold», «dry and wet», etc.

In the 6th century before our era, in Greece the word «harmony» did not have that meaning which it has today (Greek music did not know this harmony). It was the «tightening of strings to the intervals of the scale, that was the

figure of the scale itself ». This meant that for Pythagoras **the universe and its law was equilibrium, order and not «satisfaction»** (*volupté*). (Kestler, *Les Somnambules.*)

In the Pythagorean universe there exists the tonic, the thesis which considers philosophy the most perfect music and declares that the highest form of philosophy refers to «numbers».

«Everything has a form, everything is form and every form can be expressed or defined through numbers.»

Thus, the form of the square corresponds with a squared number, that is, 16 = 4x4, while 12 is a rectangular number and 6 a triangular number.

The Ionians opened the cosmic «oyster».

In the Pythagorean universe **the disc of the earth was transformed into a sphere and around this sphere, this ball of fire, rotate the sun, the moon and the planets in concentric circles. However, these, the sun, the moon and the planets, are spheres fixed in an orbit.** Their movements in the space of the night and the air, said the Pythagoreans, created a musical sound. They said, also, that **«each planet has a specific note, which depends on its orbit, precisely like the note of a lyre, which depends on the length of the string.**»

Thus, the sun, the moon and the planets form concentric circles in space and it is self-evident that the orbital strings are «governed» by the laws of harmony.

Pliny (**10**) the Elder, the Roman naturalist, said that Pythagoras thought that the distance between the earth and the moon was **a tone**, from Mercury to Venus **a semitone**, from Venus to the sun **a minor third**, from the sun to Mars **a tone**, from Mars to Jupiter **a semitone**, from Jupiter to Saturn **a semitone** and from Saturn to the spheres of «fixed» stars **a minor thir**d.

From this emerges the scale of Pythagoras:

Ut (do), re, mi-b, sol, la, si-b, si, re

According to tradition, the « master» had the ability «to really hear the music of spheres».

The dream of Pythagoras raises the movement of stars to a musical harmony.

The question arises: Is the «harmony of spheres» a «poem», or a «scientific concept», an «hypothesis» for work, or a «dream» of a mystic?

That information gathered by astronomers over centuries says that it is more like a dream.

Aristotle expelled the «heavenly harmony» with scornful words from the «palace» of exact and serious science.

But, at the end of the 16th century there emerged Johannes Kepler, (**11**) who was infatuated with «the dream of Pythagoras», and on this basis of phantasy, through the means of reason, began to build the structure of modern astronomy.

An astonishing episode in the history of

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10 Born in 23 and died in 79.

11 German astronomer (1571-1630).

thought which shows that the progress of sciences follows various roads and may come even from an idea which for centuries has been considered a dream or phantasy.

Various scientists contest the fact that all the philosophical discoveries, mystical or rational, mathematical and geometrical, were ascribed to Pythagoras. They claim that some of them must have been discoveries of his disciples, who, protecting the cult of their master, attributed everything to him.

Pythagoras and the «Cult of Orpheus»

Pythagoras gave a new meaning to Orphism.

Pythagorean medicine and science had different concepts and different technical instructions irrespective of whether they formed one concept with the cult of Bacchus, of Orpheus, of Apollo, and so on.

Plutarch (**12**) says that the function of Pythagorean geometry separates us from the world of senses and that of decay, and introduces us to the world of the intellect and the eternal. The observation of «the eternal is the purpose of philosophy, just as the observation of mystery is the purpose of religion» (B. Farrington, *Greek Sciences*.)

It turns out, however, that from the standpoint of the Pythagoreans, both these purposes are undefined.

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12 Greek biographer and writer (about the years 50-125).

Everything in the system of Pythagoras was built in «diagrams with points». However, they discovered a category of numbers, such as square roots, which could not be comprised of a finite number of points. It is said that the Pythagoreans kept secret this discovery, that is, the discovery of irrational (*arrhetos* — nameless) numbers, which was a direct attack on their system.

Hypasos, a disciple of Pythagoras, revealed the secret, causing a scandal and he was condemned to death (Danzig, *The Language of Science*).

Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans in Croton and some other centres of Magna Grecia, lived and acted organized in closed mystical communities — *heteriai*, which, after the death of the «master» and the disclosure of the secret of «irrational numbers» by Hypasos, were broken up, persecuted and dispersed.

However, the true reason for the weakening and dispersal of these Pythagorean communities, which represented and defended the slave-owning aristocracy, lies in the class struggle which was waged at that time, in the triumph of the slave-owning democracy over the slave-owning aristocracy.

TUESDAY
OCTOBER 25, 1983

NOTE

The prime minister of Yugoslavia, Planinc, is paying an official visit to Greece. According to the TANJUG agency, in her meetings with the Greek prime minister, Papandreou, they have discussed «the current political and economic situation in the world, the further development of bilateral relations, the extension of trade and more intensive economic collaboration.» That is all that is said in the official TANJUG communique. However, I noticed that in the speech which Planinc made at the dinner put on by Papandreou, she also touched on the problem of national minorities, saying that «the national minorities, which as a consequence of historical circumstances, constitute part of the reality of the region in which they live, ought to serve as solid bridges of trust, friendship and collaboration.»

We Albanians are very well aware of what Planinc is getting at with these declarations and what detestable plots are hidden behind her anti-Albanian actions in Yugoslavia and Greece. That is why we are keeping notes.

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 16, 1983

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

The Legislative Assembly of the Turkish community in Cyprus has proclaimed the formation of «the Turkish Republic of Cyprus», that is, the independence of the northern part of the island.

This event will certainly have repercussions and consequences in the international arena, will exacerbate the already bad Turkish-Greek relations, will increase the danger of intervention of the superpowers and will worsen the existing very worrying situation in the Mediterranean.

What has occurred is their doing. At the proper time we shall take our stand. We have supported the just struggle of the Cypriot people, both Greek and Turkish, for freedom and national independence; we have been and are of the opinion that a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus can be achieved only through talks between the two communities and without any interference from outside.

SUNDAY
JANUARY 15, 1984

A POSITIVE OPINION ABOUT US EXISTS IN GREECE

Before Ksenofon Nushi (**1**) returned to Athens, I invited him to dinner and talked with him. It seems there is a positive opinion about us in Greece. We have problems with Greece, but they are not like the problems which we have with Yugoslavia. Since we have the Greek minority in our country in sound positions, let the priests shout as much as they like.

In any case, the important thing for us is the Greek democratic opinion. Even within the «New Democracy» Party there may be progressive persons who are not in agreement with the priests.

We must realize, likewise, that it is Yugoslavia which also incites Greek reaction to keep the question of the Greek minority in Albania raised to the highest possible level. Indeed, the Yugoslavs are trumpeting loudly that the na-

1 Ambassador of the PSR of Albania to Greece.

tional question in our country has allegedly not been properly solved. That is, what we say about them they are trying to say about us, as if neither the Macedonians nor the members of the Greek minority have rights in Albania. Not only do the Yugoslavs slanderously allege that the members of the Greek minority in Albania do not enjoy rights and support the anti-Albanian activity of the Vorio Epirotes, but they also bring up the question of the Wallachians. Tomorrow they may say that the Jews have no rights in our country, and so on. The Yugoslavs are very eagerly joining in the chorus of Greek reaction which, among other things, is making a great noise about the law on the changing of names, for example. In fact, we have brought the law on changing some derogatory and humiliating names, and this is a very very normal action because some persons have been given the most banal humiliating names and surnames which they cannot endure. And so they have seized on this law and make the accusation that we use it as a weapon to wipe out the members of the minority, to assimilate them, just as we wiped out their religion, removed their names and made them all Albanians!

The Yugoslav Titoites are developing this campaign of anti-Albanian propaganda precisely when Greek reaction and the Vorio-Epirote syllogos have been silenced by our correct stands over a number of international political problems, which are in the interests of Greece, too.

One of these is the question of Cyprus which has put the Greek government in difficulties. Our correct stand towards the recent events in Cyprus, naturally, has made Greek reaction say: «Wait a bit, because on this question Albania could have come out against us.»

The second reason, it seems to me, is the refusal of Turkey to take part in the meeting to declare the Balkans a nuclear-free zone. This has great importance, because the meeting, in fact, is against NATO, against the United States of America, and Turkey is not taking part precisely because of the first item on the agenda, the declaration of the Balkans a nuclear-free zone. The Turks have said officially that if this question is removed from the agenda then they will take part, otherwise no.

Towards the Greek government we must maintain our line, but in view of its present policy we must also be flexible. What does it mean to be flexible? It means that where the Greek government is right, we must not deny this, but must say openly that it is right. So, in this case flexibility must be shown. This is how we must act on other occasions, too, and we must keep this well in mind. But when we talk of flexibility, this does not mean that we should damage or harm the interests of our people. In no way.

THURSDAY
FEBRUARY 2. 1984

WE MUST EXPOSE THOSE WHO WANT TO DISRUPT THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES

These days the metropolitan Sebastianos, accompanied by other reactionaries, went to the United States of America and testified before a commission of the American Senate about the allegedly bad situation of the minority in Albania. At the same time, the Greek reactionary press has spread tendentious reports claiming that we want to kill Sebastianos. These days, too, a fugitive has sent us a letter in which he threatens to blow up our embassy in Athens if we do not allow his family to go to Greece.

In connection with this anti-Albanian campaign of slanders and attacks against our country which is being waged by Greek reaction, we cannot but protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On behalf of our government, we must demand in the most serious way that it take measures to ensure not only that such things will not occur,

but also, on the basis of recognized international rules and law, that a situation will be created for our embassy and its personnel to work peacefully, just as we have created for the Greek embassy in Tirana. This step will be a strong and resolute warning from our side addressed to the Greek government.

TUESDAY
FEBRUARY 14, 1984

THE EFFORTS OF REACTION TO CREATE HOSTILE GROUPS IN OUR COUNTRY WILL NEVER BE SUCCESSFUL

Both Serbian and Greek reaction are trying to create hostile groups in our country and, by whispering in the ears of certain individuals, to arouse dissatisfaction in the Greek and Macedonian (**1**) minorities. Yugoslav reaction is working to arouse discontent in the minorities with the aim of using this as a counterweight to the events in Kosova. To this end, both these reactionary groupings have the support of American reactionary circles today.

In connection with this fact, on the basis of historical documents from the Second World War, it turns out that the United States of America was opposed to giving Greece Southern Albania or «Vorio Epirus». as the Greeks call it,

1 On the basis of the general census of the population on January 7, 1979, there were 4,163 persons of Slavonic nationality in Albania.

while Britain was in favour «in order to give satisfaction to Greece».

What were the reasons for such a stand by the United States of America? It could be our relations with the Soviet Union, or Yugoslavia, with which we were on friendly terms at that time, or some other issue of great concern to the Americans, we do not know precisely. Today, however, the situation has changed and the Americans have turned into supporters of Greek reaction. This may also be a consequence of the fact that the Greek lobby has great influence within the American state organs, such as the Senate, for instance. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that up till now neither the Senate nor the Department of State have openly taken official stands in support of the claims of Greek reaction.

In regard to the comparison which reaction makes between the oppression of the people of Kosova by the Serbs and the situation of the Greek minority in our country, there is no truth at all in this. The Greek minority in our country enjoys all the rights which the Albanian people enjoy. Indeed, in some directions it has been more favoured than the Albanians themselves, such as in being supplied with electric light, water, etc., earlier. The standard of living of the members of the minority, too, is higher than almost anywhere else in our country. In Kosova the Albanians suffer political and economic oppression, they are denied all rights.

In the future, too, the line of our Party will be strictly applied to the minority. The members of the minority will always be treated as brothers and be given everything that is given to our people. The situation in the minority is healthy, as is the friendship between the members of the minority and the Albanians.

In regard to the problem of religion, the priests of Athens, the Vatican, or anywhere else, should know very well that the time of religion and churches in socialist Albania has gone forever. Those who want to, may cling to their personal beliefs, but to have religious institutions here in Albania, to have a church like an independent «kingdom» within the state of our Republic, which would establish and organize secret links with Catholics, Greek, Serbian or other reaction, this we will not permit even if the American Senate or the whole of America rises to demand it.

Even after a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, religious influence will exist, but our youth will not know it and will not accept it. Already today, our youth do not believe in god, in Christ or in Mohammed.

TUESDAY
FEBRUARY 14, 1984

A MEETING WHICH THE TITOITES ARE TRYING TO EXPLOIT AGAINST OUR COUNTRY

Today, in the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party we exchanged opinions about the results which might emerge from the meeting in Athens of experts in the Balkan countries on «Inter-Balkan co-operation and examination of the possibilities of turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, free of nuclear weapons».

I told the comrades that, in my opinion, in regard to co-peration with one another they might decide something in this meeting, but in regard to making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone they could achieve nothing. Likewise, in regard to the question of the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, they could achieve no concrete results there, because these countries do not have uranium or the economic strength to build nuclear reactors without the aid and credits of Great Powers.

On this occasion I mentioned to the com-

rades a report from Athens by a correspondent of the Yugoslav agency TANJUG, which, in dealing with some problems of the Athens meeting, tries to attack us. The article speaks about a «mini Helsinki Charter», about the problem of bilateral and multilateral relations, about the creation of a «Balkan Common Market», about a «united Balkans, without atomic weapons but with conventional weapons, outside the control of superpowers», etc., etc. I said that besides attacking us, through this material the Yugoslavs were also trying to deceive us and to lead us into a trap. For example, if you want Greece to revoke «the law on the state of war» with you, come here to the Athens meeting where we will approve a joint document; if you are for the status quo of borders, take a Balkan-wide commitment so that we will not demand from you a re-examination of borders, etc., etc., they say.

From this correspondence it emerges that the inclination of the Yugoslavs is to create a «bloc» allegedly open, but in fact closed, allegedly independent, but in fact dependent on both sides, the West and the East. In this way this «mini bloc» becomes a third bloc in Europe: the NATO bloc, the Warsaw Treaty bloc, and the Balkan bloc. Next, commercial activity should be co-ordinated, that is the «Balkan Common Market», like the European Common Market and Comecon, should be created, the borders should be opened as Yugoslavia has opened its borders, etc., etc.

Behind all this policy, stands the United States of America. But the Soviet Union is there, too. The latter is trying to be on the inside in order to know the situation better, because, in reality, it wants the Balkan countries to be divided so that it can gobble them up more easily.

The attempts to form a Balkan union have their source a long time ago, in the time of Churchill. Under this slogan, the Yugoslav Titoites tried to annex us first, and then to take Bulgaria. However, we did not fall into their trap, because we sensed the danger presented by such a Balkan Federation, for the achievement of which Tito exerted pressure.

Experience teaches us Albanians that we should trust others, whoever they are, up to a certain limit. Beyond this limit, vigilance must commence. For example, let the Soviet revisionists make «self-criticism» or whatever else they like, but we will always be vigilant towards them because we know very well what they are. I say this about the Soviets, let alone the Yugoslav Titoites.

Our enemies, the revisionists of all hues. Greek reaction, Yugoslav reaction, etc., want to snuff out our ideological force. But this they can never achieve.

Our sound ideological position makes the economy of our country strong, but it also relies powerfully on this economy. Today we are in a position where we don't have to hold out our

hand to X or Y. If we were to hold out our hand to anyone, our independent policy would be finished. But we are determined not to hold out our hand to anyone; we prefer to get by with what we have and be independent.

Progressive people understand our position and correct stands, and precisely in these people we have a great support.

SUNDAY
FEBRUARY 26, 1984

THE POPE INTERFERES IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

During a pastoral visit to Puglia, the Polish Pope, Johan Paul II, tried to poke his nose into our internal affairs. In a speech in a church in Bari he took the reactionary catholic priests under his wing and accused us because we do not allow the Catholics to «practice their religion». He said that they «occupy a special place» in his heart. So, a second fascist Duce who, like the first one, «has Albania in his heart», has emerged. We shall put this Duce of the church in his place, too!

We have to do with an extensive campaign of attacks and slanders against Albania. The Vorio-Epirote syllogos, the Serbian chauvinists and the Pope of Rome in a joint chorus are blowing their bugles and screaming about «human rights» which are allegedly not respected in Albania, about religion which is not allowed to be practised freely, about peace in the Balkans

which our country is allegedly threatening, and so on.

We must give these enemies of our people and country a strong and resolute answer, well thought out, as always.

MONDAY
FEBRUARY 27, 1984

WE MUST REFUTE THE SLANDERS AND ATTACKS OF ENEMIES

Theses for an article

— Anti-Albanian reaction in some neighbouring countries has launched an extensive campaign of attacks and slanders against our socialist country. We have to do with the joint chorus of the Vorio-Epirote sillogos, the Serbian chauvinists and the Pope of the Vatican. The threads of this anti-Albanian triangle lead to Washington and other centres specialized in the struggle against socialism.

— Those who are opposed to the consistent and principled policy of good neighbourliness which our country pursues and the stand of Albania as a factor of genuine peace and stability in Europe are organizing this chorus.

— Our people resolutely condemn this hostile campaign and denounce it before world public opinion.

— In regard to Greek reaction we must point out in the article that its anti-Albanian activity is contrary to the wishes of the Greek people themselves.

— We must relate the history of the holding of anti-Albanian demonstrations outside our embassy in Athens and of the attacks in the Greek reactionary press. They are linked with the visit of the notorious priest Sebastianos to the United States of America.

— According to instructions received from the imperialist anti-Albanian centres, Greek reaction has based its campaign against our country on the supposed persecution and oppression of the Greek minority in Albania. In the article we must demonstrate the truth, the progress which has been made in that region, the rights which the minority people enjoy and their happy life. We should mention the positive statements by Greeks who have visited the minority, ministers, diplomats, progressive journalists and writers, the declarations of the minister Akritidhis in the Greek parliament in 1982, etc., etc.

— We should point out that the anti-Albanian campaign of Greek reaction, which is steadily escalating, is in open contradiction with the political declarations of the Greek government that it is inclined to and desires the establishment of friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, the achievement of all-round co-operation with the Balkan countries, etc.

— We must firmly denounce the provocative statements of the spokesman of the «New Democracy», Mitsotakis, who demanded alteration of the status of borders and raised the question of the partitioning of Southern Albania.

— After this we must go on in the article to forcefully denounce the interference which Pope Woityla made recently at Bari of Puglia. We should say that Pope Woityla has been charged with a special mission to blacken Albania and denigrate the Albanian people. He is doing this with great zeal.

— After we explain and refute the «Pope's concern» about the situation of religion in Albania, we should quote that piece of his speech in Bari where he says: «My thoughts go to the brothers and sisters in Albania... I want to assure them that they occupy a special place in my heart.» The article must point out that the Duce also said «Albania is in my heart». But Albania is not Poland and the Albanians have put the present Pope in his place, just as they did to the Duce in his time and to other popes, who blessed fascism and collaborated with it to attack peoples and rob them of their freedom.

We should go on in the article to dwell on the ulterior motives and aims of the chauvinists of Belgrade towards our country. We should point out that in the present anti-Albanian campaign the Great-Serbs of Belgrade are playing a primary role in unison with Greek reaction and the Vatican. Their chauvinist hatred for socialist

Albania and all Albanians leads the chiefs of Belgrade to collaborate and plot with anyone at all and to hatch up every kind of intrigue against our country. On this occasion we should cite the statements of the Greek newspaper *Elevtherotipia* (**1**) and the article of *Borba* (**2**) in which the attempts of Belgrade to disrupt the good friendly relations which exist between Albania and Greece emerge clearly.

— In the period of the intensification of Yugoslav-American political-military relations and the honeymoon between Vorio-Epirote and Great-Serb chauvinisms, in order to divert the attention of the world from Kosova, the chiefs of Belgrade are stepping up their attacks and slanders against Albania, under the slogan «Albania is creating tension in the Balkans».

But neither the efforts to present a gloomy picture of socialist Albania, the anti-Albanian screams of Greek reactionaries, the diabolical attacks of the Pope of the Vatican, nor the assurances which they might have received from America that it will try to «tame» Albania will make the internal situation of Yugoslavia any easier.

Nobody, neither America, the Greek bishops,

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1 Of February 25, 1984 which says: «Unwittingly we became collaborators in the very dubious game of the Yugoslavs towards Albania; they have repeatedly displayed tendencies to partition it.»

2 Of February 25-26, 1984.

the Vatican, nor the Great-Serb chauvinists or anyone else who might unite with them, can divert Albania from its socialist course, from its principled policy. The Albanians are not people with weak nerves.

FRIDAY
MARCH 9, 1984

INCIDENT BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE

About midnight yesterday, near the Island of Samothraki, in the Aegean Sea, a squadron of Turkish naval ships opened fire on a Greek destroyer. This announcement was made by a spokesman of the Greek government, who described the incident as a «serious provocation».

The Turkish side rejects the Greek accusation, describes it as «a provocation» and says that the Turkish ships were on military training and fired in the air and not at the Greek vessel.

Obviously, on these occasions it is difficult for either side to tell or accept the truth. Each tries to put the blame and the responsibility on to the other. But the fact is that the Greek side has recalled the Greek ambassador from Turkey, has demanded the recall of the Turkish ambassador, has informed the United States of America and the military council of NATO, and has pro-

claimed a «state of emergency over the whole country».

Through their TANJUG agency, the Yugoslavs, who seem to be worried lest a conflict break out between the disputing parties, and thus, their Balkan plans be ruined, are speaking about a «minor Greco-Turkish naval incident in the vicinity of the Turkish Island of Ada in the Dardanelles.»

In itself the incident is an inseparable part of the old and new Greco-Turkish squabbles over the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea which is thought to contain oil, as well as over the question of Cyprus, especially after the unilateral proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Cyprus.

Although it may be small, this incident increased the tension in the Mediterranean and the Balkans.

THURSDAY
MAY 17, 1984

GOODWILL IS BEING DISPLAYED BY GREEK OFFICIALS IN REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH US

I exchanged opinions with Comrades Ramiz [Alia] and Adil [Çarçani] about the meeting which Ksenofon Nushi had in Athens with the Greek Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Papoulias, in connection with the relations with our country.

From the radiogram which Ksenofon sent us, it emerges that they had a long talk at this meeting. Papoulias did not go into certain questions which Greek reaction raises and spoke in a friendly way about the relations between our two countries. He raised the need for the opening of the border crossing-point at Kakavia, and implied that for the moment the Greek government is unable to annul the «law on the state of war» with us, which they have. In general, it can be said that in their relations with

us goodwill is apparent from the side of the Greeks.

In connection with these problems I gave the comrades my opinions.

After two weeks Ksenofon should make contact with Papoulias and say to him that he transmitted the things they talked about together to his government and it agrees to Papoulias' proposals, therefore, it has decided to send a deputy minister to Athens to continue these contacts.

THURSDAY
MAY 17, 1084

WE SHOULD REPLY TO THE INVITATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF JANINA

Today Comrade Ramiz Alia told us something about the development of proceedings at the 1st Congress of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in Athens, at which important problems of Greece were discussed, including problems of its foreign policy, such as the demand of delegates for the removal of American military bases and nuclear weapons from Greece, a question which was touched on in the speech delivered to the congress by the Prime Minister Papandreou, who was re-elected chairman of PASOK.

We also exchanged opinions about the relations between our two countries. On this occasion I told Ramiz that our University ought to reply to the invitation of the University of Janina to take part in the meeting which is to be held in Athens about proclaiming the Balkans a nuclear-free zone, etc. While thanking them for

their invitation, our University should express its regret that we cannot take part for the reasons which have been made known earlier by our government. (**1**) Nevertheless, it should be

1 On June 9, 1983, Adil Çarçani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, sent a letter to Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece, in which he replied to the proposal made by the Greek government about holding a meeting of representatives of Balkan countries in order to examine the question of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Amongst other things the reply pointed out:

«We are of the opinion that the source of the tension and the dangerous situation which exists in the world today is the aggressive policy from positions of strength of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, their political, economic and military pressures and their brutal interference in the internal affairs of the other states... It is already known that there exist in our peninsula a number of factors which seriously endanger the security of all the Balkan countries and greatly hinder the realization of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples to live in peace and friendship with one another. These dangers and obstacles stem, first of all, from the international commitments of certain Balkan states. Of the six states of our Peninsula, two are members of NATO, two are members of the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not take part in any political-military bloc, while the SFR of Yugoslavia is linked with the two superpowers simultaneously.

«Our opinion, Mr. Prime Minister, is that secure peace in the Balkans cannot be achieved by ignoring or glossing over this reality. A meeting of Balkan countries at a high level or any other level at present would be illusory and any decision which might be taken would be merely declamatory. Therefore, our Government cannot take part in the meeting to examine the proposal for the creation of a zone free of nuclear weapons...

«We adhere to the view that in order to create the neces-

pointed out that we hope that possibilities will be created at some other meeting for an exchange of opinions between the university youth of our two countries, a thing which would be good for strengthening our friendly contacts, etc.

Ramiz Alia then told us about the correct report given by the Greek radio and television about the meeting which was held between the Greek Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Papoulias, and our ambassador in Greece, Ksenofon Nushi. We concluded that in our reply we should also express our agreement for the further development of relations between the two countries.

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sary premises for Balkan political meetings or conferences it is essential that concrete steps should be taken for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Balkan countries, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the denunciation of the political-military treaties of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the refusal to supply or repair ships of the superpowers' naval fleets and that the superpowers' policy of interference in the internal affairs of each Balkan country and their machinations designed to introduce the spirit of confrontation should be resolutely opposed.»

TUESDAY
DECEMBER 4, 1984

A PHOTOGRAPH WHICH BRINGS BACK MEMORIES

The well-known national hero of the Greek resistance, Manolis Glezos, an outstanding social personality, who was in our country to take part in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, during the inauguration of the exhibition of Figurative Arts (**1**) handed to Nexhmije a photograph which a former Greek partisan, Dh. Kremos, had given him for me with a warm dedication. Likewise, Glezos handed to the Committee for Friendly and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries a study by this Greek former partisan on the Albanian language and its antiquity.

I will send Mr. Kremos a letter of thanks in which I will write about the memories which his photograph brought back to me of the very warm and friendly meetings which I had the

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1 November 27, 1984.

occasion to have with Greek partisans during the National Liberation War. I will congratulate him also on the interest which he displays in our country and our people.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 6, 1984

OUR POLICY TOWARDS GREECE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A FAIR AND FRIENDLY POLICY

Today Ramiz [Alia] and Adil [Çarçani] reported to us about the visit to our country of the Greek Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, the talks which were held on the occasion, the Greek minister's impressions of our country, etc.

The talks went well, so the comrades told us. In his meeting with Adil, the head of the Greek delegation spoke about the readiness of his side to develop the friendly relations between the two countries further, and said that they want a peaceful situation on the border.

During the visits it made to several cities, such as Berat, Gjirokastra, Saranda, etc., the Greek delegation displayed friendliness and spoke well.

At Gjirokastra the delegation visited the «Pandeli Sotiri» pedagogical school where teachers of the Greek language are trained for the

needs of the minority people. He also visited two or three agricultural cooperatives of the minority people. Wherever he went he met and talked freely in Greek with the minority people and went away pleased with everything he saw.

The Greek delegation also laid a wreath on a hill in Përmet called «Height 731», where a number of Greek soldiers were killed during the Italo-Greek war. On this occasion a wreath was laid there, too, from our side by the war veterans. A number of peasants there talked with the members of the Greek delegation about the events during the time of the war. The Greeks were very moved, but they were pleased with the ceremonies organized at that place.

The delegation also brought a message with a good, positive and correct content sent by Papandreou to Adil. We reached agreement that at the first favourable occasion Adil should reply to Papandreou with a friendly message. (**1**)

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1 In reply to the message of the Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreou, in which he pointed out that «My government's policy of friendship towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is as clear as it is sincere», Comrade Adil Çarçani points out: «The Albanian government welcomes the results of talks held between the two sides in Athens and Tirana, which opened the way to more extensive collaboration in various fields of mutual interest. We rejoice that the New Year 1985 commenced with notable events in Albanian-Greek relations. We appreciate your personal contribution to all these developments and express the belief that in the existing atmosphere this process will be further deepened and extended. This responds to the interests and aspirations

On this occasion, I said to the comrades that our policy towards Greece has always been a fair and friendly policy. The present approaches of Greece towards our country are a response to this policy.

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of our people whose bonds of friendship go far back in history, and respond to the interests of peace and security in the Balkans.»

FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES WILL GROW STEADILY STRONGER

Letter to Mr. Dh. Cremos, former Greek partisan

Dear friend,

When he came to take part in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of Albania, your comrade, the well-known national hero of the Greek resistance, outstanding social personality and my honoured friend, Manolis Glezos, handed us a photograph of yours and your study entitled: Albanian (*The Language and Writing*).

Your wartime photograph which you had the kindness to send me as a remembrance, brought back to me warm memories of the Greek partisan comrades whom I had the occasion to

meet in those difficult times for our peoples, each of whom fought heroically on its own territory against the nazi-fascist invaders and local gangs of traitors for their liberation. The affection and understanding which the Greek and Albanian partisans showed for one another in these meetings and cordial talks have remained unforgettable for me. The ancient bonds created through the blood shed together during centuries against common enemies, and especially in the Greek Revolution of 1821, were further strengthened in this great war.

We are pleased to see that thanks to the desire of the peoples and the goodwill of the governments of our two countries, in recent times the good neighbourly relations between Albania and Greece are proceeding in the direction of expansion and strengthening. I am convinced that our friendship and good neighbourly relations will grow steadily stronger, because this is the desire of our peoples and serves the interests of our two countries and stability in the Balkan zone.

Allow me, on this occasion, to congratulate you on the work you have undertaken on the Albanian language and its antiquity. This is an expression of the interest and affection which you personally display for our country and people, which assists in the strengthening of our understanding and friendship.

On the occasion of the New Year 1985, I

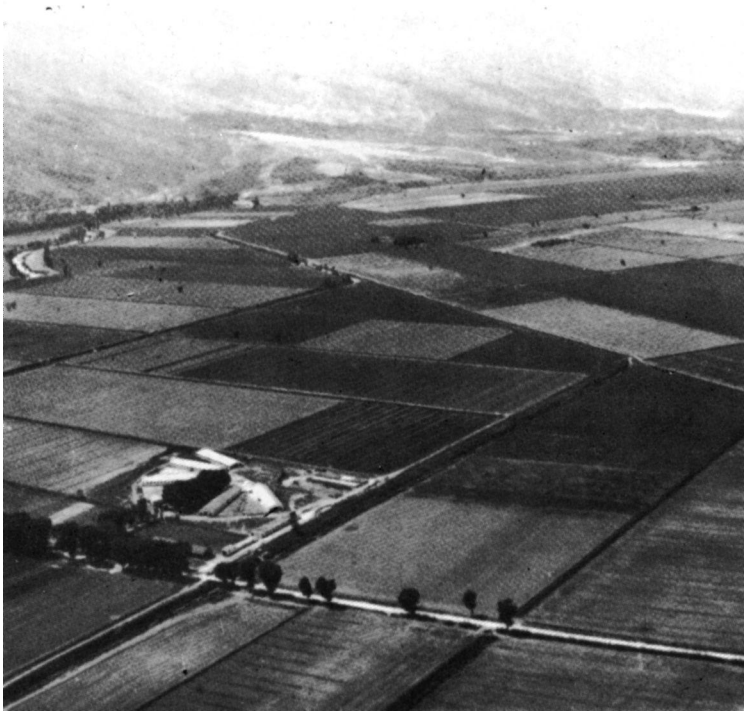
convey to you my best wishes for your health and prosperity!

Greetings

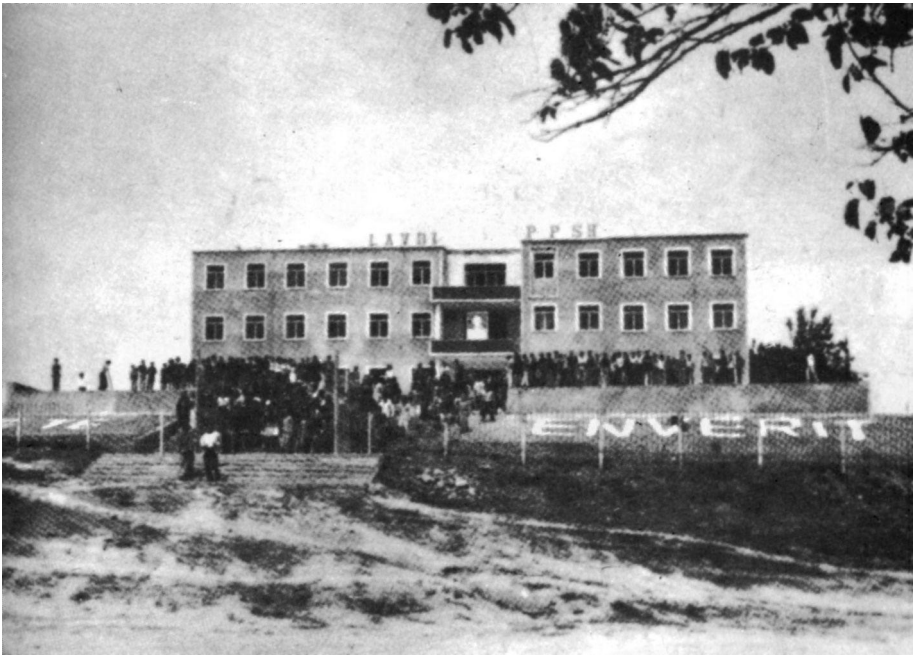
Enver Hoxha

Tirana, December 29, 1984

With the delegate from Dropull at the 8th Congress of the PLA (November 1981).

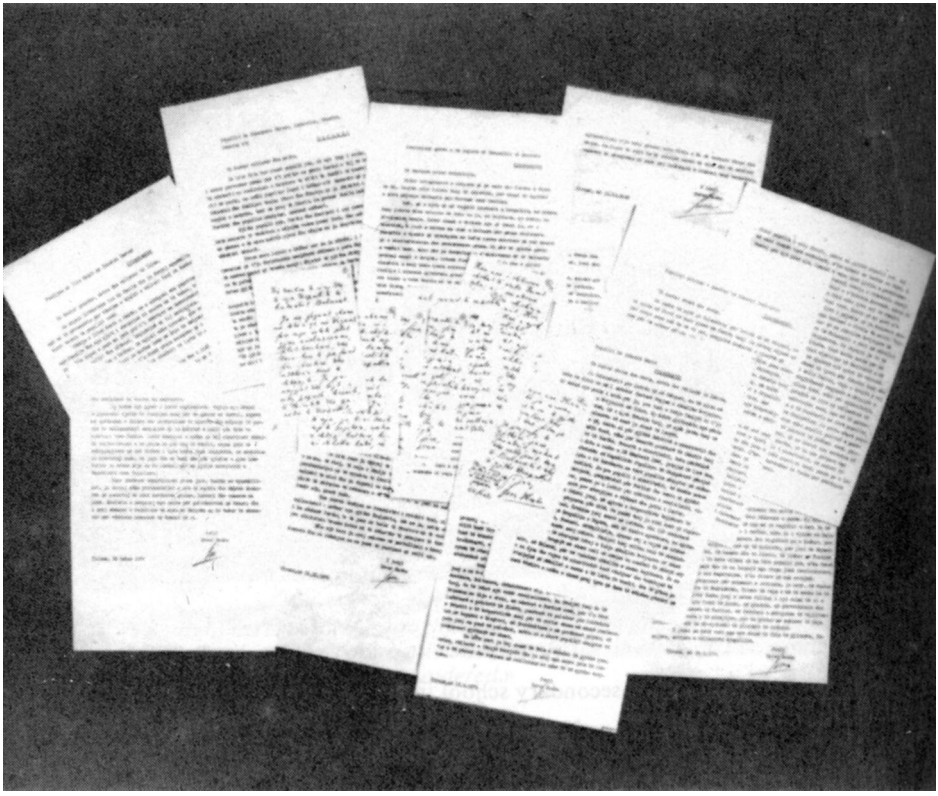


«See, right here, before us lies this beautiful fertile plain embellished by the skilful hands of the cooperativists, just as the dresses of the women of Dropull are beautifully embroidered.»



The agricultural secondary school in Aliko village of Finiq.

«I congratulate you people of Dropull on the preservation and development of your folk songs and dances and your beautiful costumes. You must preserve them, because they are valuable not only to you, but to the whole of socialist Albania.»



Facsimiles of Comrade Enver Hoxha's letters sent to the people of Dropull.

«There came a day that brought light to our eyes, songs to our hearts and smiles to our lips.» (Tableau by Aristidh Loli, a painter from the minority people: «The people of Dropull write to Comrade Enver».)

From the visit of a Greek government trade delegation, in April 1978, to the «Pandeli Sotiri» secondary school in Gjirokastra, where teachers of the Greek language are trained for the schools of the minority people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia during his meeting with the national hero of the Greek resistance, Manolis Glezos (November 1984).

«The feelings of the Greek people and the Albanian people are in accord, each wishes the other well. We desire to develop a sincere friendship on this basis.» From the ceremony of opening the border crossing-point of Kakavia (January 1985).

SUNDAY
DECEMBER 30, 1984

PANORAMA

This is the second to last day of 1984. For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, a year of new victories in the construction of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and raising the authority of our country in the international arena. Of course, during this year we have also had to face and get over objective difficulties and obstacles such as the great drought which went on longer than in any other year, and besides this, there were also difficulties and shortcomings for subjective reasons, linked with questions of organization, discipline, etc. But what I want to touch on in this brief panorama of 1984 is the general situation and various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too.

In foreign policy, our country continued the line laid down at the 8th Congress of our Party: unrelenting and continuous struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and their harmful policy towards other peoples, support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, progressive movements and the struggles of different peoples for national and social liberation. In a word, support for the class struggles which the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples are waging for national and social liberation, and collaboration with neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and respect for national sovereignty. Likewise, also with the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries — cooperation in the field of commercial exchanges without any ideological and political concession or compromise.

Thanks to this correct policy of our country and the goodwill of the Greek government, improvements have occurred in our relations with neighbouring Greece, some agreements of mutual benefit, which, I think, will open the way to the strengthening of relations and the ancient friendship between our two peoples, were concluded. Our relations with Italy proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more in this direction. We have good relations with Turkey and likewise with some countries of

Western Europe, with various Arab and African countries, etc.

During 1984, apart from the plots and the usual sabotage actions of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to withstand not only the attacks and the anti-Albanian acts of the Great-Serb chauvinists, but also those of Greek reaction and mainly of Greek bishops and the Vorio-Epirote chauvinist circles, who have left no stone unturned to poison relations and hinder the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The Pope of the Vatican, the Pole Wojtyla, has also taken part in the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and the building of socialism in Albania. It is not difficult to see in this a secret co-ordination with evil intentions between reactionary forces of Great-Serb chauvinism, the Greek fascists and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican. But we are accustomed to these slanders, attacks and plots. We know them, have coped with them and smashed them mercilessly. And this is what will occur in the future, too.

World capitalism calls Albania an «anachronism» because it is a country which stands up to and opposes the intrigues, sabotage and lies of imperialism and revisionism. We care nothing for their economic and military potential.

We are optimistic, because we are Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and

conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. Life itself, the development of events round about us and throughout the world have proved us right and not our opponents and enemies.

But let me return to the positive developments which occurred in our relations with Greece, which had great repercussions on international public opinion.

I want to point out from the outset that what has been achieved, and of course, with goodwill, must be carried further with the revoking of the absurd law on the state of war with our country by the Greek government, is a result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of our foreign policy for good neighbourly relations with all the countries around us, on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and without ideological or political concessions. As soon as we announce an official visit to Italy, to Greece to Turkey, or somewhere else, indeed even when we send athletes to take part in some international contest, as occurred in the case of the International Athletic Meeting in Nice of France, the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda usually sets up a clamour about the «opening-up» of Albania towards the West. Now they are continuing to blow this broken trumpet.

How greatly mistaken are those who are permanently wrong in connection with our decided and clear-cut policy. We have followed

this policy which we are following today from the founding of our People's Republic. We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours. It is the others who have not shown understanding or have responded hesitantly to our policy of good neighbourly relations, because, as our people say, «they have had the devil in their bellies». Thus, whenever the lofty interests of our Homeland have required we have been in favour of such «opening-up» and we will remain in favour of it in the future, but we will not be for «integration», «the selling out of the freedom and assets of the Homeland», or «links and alliances» with agressive political-military groupings of either superpower. Let nobody deceive himself about this.

There is propaganda that we have been obliged to undertake this «opening-up» because of our internal needs, to get over the difficulties which emerged for us after our «breaking away» from China and to acquire modern technology. Such allegations are fairy tales. First of all, it is not true that we «broke away» from China. No. It was the Chinese revisionist and capitalist leaders who undertook anti-Albanian actions and unilaterally breached the agreements on economic cooperation with our country and they did this because we tried to convince them that they were applying a counter-revolutionary foreign policy and sliding ever more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism. And we knew what the consequences

of such a stand by our Party and country towards China might be, hence we were aware that we would have economic consequences, just as we had when we denounced the treacherous actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Therefore, we had taken the necessary measures.

We did not begin to trade with other countries this year or last year, but we have done so since the time we founded our new state. This trade has been based on the principle of mutual benefit, I supply you you supply me, without credits or debts conditioned with political concessions, excluding here the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs and Soviets, and later the Chinese, were our friends, and as internationalist and socialist countries had the duty to assist us, as the small country we were, and we accepted credits determined to repay them in full, which we did in fact, and today we have no debts to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved like betrayers, revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented a very small percentage in the economic and financial potential of our country. Hence, we have been and are for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, without any political obligation, without at any moment or in any circumstances putting up for auction the lofty national interests of the country, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

Now, as I said, they are bringing up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our «opening-up» towards the West. It depends on how and from what stand-points this question is looked at, or from what position and for what aims it is commented on, because the improvement of our relations with Greece was done at certain moments and in given political circumstances which facilitated this process.

Every state has its own political strategy and applies a clearly determined tactic in conditions and circumstances which are created by unforeseen factors or come as a result of previous actions on the basis of the given strategy. Our country, too, has its strategy and tactics in its foreign policy. They have been defined and publicly proclaimed at the various congresses of the Party.

In the concrete instance of our relations with Greece, we have always been in favour, indeed, we have sought and have waited patiently for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with that country, because such a thing is in the interests of our two peoples. Now, when the Yugoslav chauvinists, who are inveterate anti-Albanians, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and every other fascist force, are leaving no stone unthrown against socialist Albania, leaving no plot unhatched in order to hinder our constructive work, we were obliged to and took the necessary defensive measures. We were not going to allow the Titoites to act

as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us as they did even by holding up our trucks which were transporting goods to the markets of Western Europe, and so on. This would have been impermissible. So, in these circumstances we discussed and reached an agreement with the Italian government on the establishment of the ferry line for the transport of our goods to the countries with which we have agreements; we talked and achieved positive results with the Greek government about the signing of a number of agreements of mutual benefit; we decided on the opening of the border point of Kakavia, as a friendly gesture, etc. The lofty interests of our Homeland called for these measures and we took them without permitting any concession or making any compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without any infringements or interference at all in the internal affairs of others.

During this year the Greek reactionary forces, the representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Vorio-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, caused us worries. They exerted pressure, organized provocations, going so far as the blowing up of vehicles of our embassy in Athens and threatening demonstrations in front of it under the pretext that the Greek minority in Albania were being badly treated, etc. At these grave moments, certain circles, including the Titoites, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is,

would break off diplomatic relations with that country. But we did not fall into this trap. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the confusion and defeat of reactionary anti-Albanian forces, both Greek and foreign. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, together with whom we have fought more than once for the same aims. And we were not mistaken. After all this furious storm came the calm days when the Greek government itself took the first steps for correct relations, for rapprochement and good neighbourliness. On this basis and in joint agreement these results which I mentioned above were achieved. All this was in the interests of the Greek people and in the interests of our people.

Positive for us is the fact that the Greek reactionary forces, the bishops, the most reactionary representatives of the Vorio-Epirote circles, and their supporters and backers in the USA were isolated, the honest and progressive Greeks rejoice. The Yugoslav Titoites, who encouraged and expected outbursts between Greece and Albania, were isolated and suffered fiasco; their propaganda in the international arena, «Albania is opposed to peace and represents the warmongering country in the Balkans», etc., suffered complete defeat.

Now the Greek press is writing that the slanders of reactionary circles about the mistreatment and lack of rights of the Greek minority in Albania are without foundation, and that the

Greek minority in our country lives in normal conditions, enjoys all constitutional rights, is happy, etc.

Neither do we forget the lessons of the bitter history of our country. More than once in the past the bourgeoisie, the reactionary chauvinist and fascist groupings of neighbouring countries have collaborated for the partitioning of Albania in spheres of influence and have clashed when one of them has attempted to violate «the joint secret agreement about Albania». Although many years have passed since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and does not allow anyone to «interest himself» in its fate, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not undergone any great alteration.

We also notice that our policy of good neighbourly relations with mutual benefit towards this or that country arouses jealously and anger in this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles, as though Albania were their «domain». The Yugoslav chauvinists are displaying such astonishing jealousy and anger over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy and the strengthening of our relations with a number of European countries, the countries of the Arab world, and so on.

Why is this surprising to them? This is their own affair. Why are they disturbed? We have not consulted, do not consult and never will consult Belgrade or any other capital for that matter, about what we do or what we intend to

do in the interests of our country and our socialist Homeland.

Once again they are nurturing and propagating vain hopes, as they did when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their place, that the day has come for «someone else» to plant his feet in Albania, for Albania to fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through «kindly» offers «on favourable terms» to assist us to «progress», to enable us to «correct» and «modernize» our industry and economy, and so on and so forth. We have no need for that kind of «modernization» about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so loudly, for that which the Chinese revisionists talk about now, or the bourgeoisie and the other revisionists suggest, modernization through credits, through strangling debts accompanied with humiliating and enslaving conditions. We will never place such chains around the necks of our people. Today we have built up an advanced economy capable of marching ahead with its own forces, hence, capable of being modernized and equipped with advanced technology from its own income secured from its own goods of high quality which are required all over the world.

The question of Albania and its future is discussed also among the leading circles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Both of these groups, time after time urge this or that country to

offer us «sincère aid» to emerge from the difficult situation. They are pitying the rider because his legs hang down.

We tell all short-sighted dreamers bluntly that neither one nor the other, neither the Soviet social-imperialists nor the American imperialists, or any one else can ever again plant their feet on Albanian territory, will ever again gain the right to have bases or military concentrations here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. For as long as the Soviet military base in our country, established in the framework of the erstwhile socialist camp, had purposes of defence, we accepted it, but when Khrushchevite revisionism bared its aggressive imperialist teeth we denounced it and got rid of it. In this case we performed our internationalist duty. It behoves the neighbouring peoples to act against the foreign military bases which they have on their territories and which are directed against neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise they themselves face great dangers.

Their direct and indirect pressures, as well as those which they exert on us through their tools, whoever they may be, no longer have any effect. We are afraid of no one, we are a threat to no one, and likewise, we allow no one to threaten us, but we have demanded our rights, will go on demanding them and will defend them to the end. We have been patient for many years and will continue to be patient, but we will never abandon our rights. Those who brought us

death and devastation during the Second World War, who caused us material damage, must answer for this materially. Those who are keeping our stolen gold must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its ancient, heroic and indomitable people are wearying themselves in vain waiting for such an «opening-up» which would lead to our falling into their clutches.

We shall forge ahead. We do not deny that we have difficulties. They are difficulties of growth, but also linked with the obstacles which the imperialists, the social-imperialists, the revisionists and the chauvinist and reactionary forces of all hues place in our way. However, now we are accustomed to this state of affairs. We have achieved our victories which have become the basis for our further advance with our own forces, with our own assets, with the sweat and knowledge of our own sons and daughters. And this is how we will advance in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the up and up, we have our glorious Party, which leads us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and determination, we have our working class, a sound intelligentsia, a healthy, revolutionary youth, we have a marvellous people. Full of optimism, we are preparing the 8th Five-year Plan of our economic and cultural development which, precisely because of the conditions in which we live and work, is based entirely on our

internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its own course and nothing, no force, neither the blandishments and promises, nor the pressures and plots of superpowers and their allies and vassals can turn it from this course...

CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD 3

1. — **November 1941.** The peoples of the Balkans are waging an heroic war 9

2. — **November 1942.** In Greece the fascist occupiers are being shaken 11

3. — **September 6, 1943.** The people of Dropull have fought loyally 13

4. — **March 20, 1944.** The Albanian people sabotaged the Italian fascist aggression against Greece 15

5. — **April 2, 1944.** For the mobilization of the Greek minority in the National Liberation War and for the fraternization of the Greek and Albanian peoples 18

6. — **November 28, 1944.** We have fought and bled together with the Greek people 21

7. — **April 16, 1945.** The heroic Greek people are friends of the Albanian people 23

8. — **March 10, 1946.** The Albanian people did not declare war on Greece 27

9. — **August 21, 1946.** The Albanian people have always lived as good neighbours with the Greek people 30

Page

10. — September 16, 1946. Our borders cannot be discussed 41
11. — October 3, 1947. We sympathize with the efforts of the Greek people for freedom and democracy 47
12. — November 8, 1948. We love the fraternal Greek people wholeheartedly 56
13. — March 31, 1952. Beloyanis — heroic fighter of the Greek people 61
14. — May 25, 1956. The Greek people, a cultured, modest, industrious and freedom-loving people 63
15. — July 29, 1956. The people of Dropull are intelligent, hard-working and patriotic 66
16. — November 22, 1957. The time has come when relations between Albania and Greece should be normalized 72
17. — March 1958. Interesting studies about the antiquity of our people 77
18. — May 6, 1959. The problem of the origin of a people must be solved scientifically 79
19. — June 20, 1959. We desire to live in friendship with all peoples and especially with the neighbouring peoples 84
20. — June 20, 1959. Not only we communists, who are internationalists, but the whole Albanian people love the Greek people 85

Page

21. — November 9, 1959. Free socialist Albania was founded on the blood we shed together 90
22. — May 11, 1960. Declarations harmful to our country by the Soviet ambassador in Athens 93
23. — July 8, 1960. We allow no one, whoever he may be, to discuss the borders of our country 94
24. — February 13, 1961. We have made numerous efforts to normalize relations with Greece 96
25. — April 27, 1961. The fraud of «Balkan understanding» 98
26. — November 14, 1961. Big rally of the people of Gjirokastra 99
27. — November 14, 1961. We want to have good relations with Greece 101
28. — November 17, 1961. The minority in our country stands in sound positions 105
29. — November 18, 1961. The consequences of the Khrushchevite policy of coexistence in Greece 107
30. — January 3, 1962. The Greeks make proposals to us 109
31. — May 22, 1962. Positive declarations by Stamatis Mercuris about our country 110
32. — January 1964. The revisionists support the anti-Albanian pretentions of Venizelos 111

Page

33. — January 24, 1966. The tragedy of the Greek communists in exile in the revisionist countries 115

34. — March 25, 1966. Request for the establishment of diplomatic relations with us 119

35. — March 27, 1966. In connection with the question of diplomatic relations with Greece 120

36. — April 28, 1967. Greek reaction is assuming power 121

37. — June 17, 1967. The gun-boat policy of the American and Soviet naval fleets in the Mediterranean 125

38. — August 2, 1967. The «barking» of the Greek monarcho-fascists and the «concern» of the modern revisionists 131

39. — November 22, 1967. Dropull is flourishing and will become more flourishing year by year 134

40. — May 5, 1969. The people of the minority enjoy all rights like every citizen of our Republic 137

41. — May 29, 1969. The contribution of Albanians to other peoples' wars for freedom 143

42. — October 8, 1969. A proposal to which we can give a positive reply *148*

Page

43. — November 3, 1969. On some questions of the development of Albanological sciences 149
44. — November 3, 1969. Historical studies must serve to clear up the problems of the genesis of our people 151
45. — December 25, 1969. Note 161
46. — December 31, 1969. For the women of the minority, as for all the Albanian women, the bitter life has gone forever 162
47. — January 20, 1970. The first meeting of representatives of the chambers of commerce of Albania and Greece 165
48. — February 13, 1970. The Albanian people have never wished the Greek people any ill 166
49. — February 17, 1970. It is up to the Greeks to take initiatives for diplomatic relations with us 170
50. — February 21, 1970. The Greeks thank us 171
51. — February 27, 1970. The material needs of the Greek language printery in Gjirokastra must be secured 172
52. — May 23, 1970. A lively militant tribune for the working masses of the minority 173
53. — November 18, 1970. Note 177
54. — December 14, 1970. A positive statement of the Greek government 178
55. — January 8, 1971. About our relations with Greece 179

Page

56. — March 25, 1971. The Greeks present their formula for the establishment of diplomatic relations 182
57. — April 29, 1971. Diplomatic relations are being established with Greece 183
58. — April 30, 1971. Note 184
59. — November 1, 1971. A policy consistent and principled in all directions 185
60. — January 16, 1972. Admissions of a CIA agent 192
61. — February 2, 1972. The Greek ambassador speaks well and sympathetically about the situation in Albania 196
62. — April 14, 1972. Carayannis visits our southern zones 199
63. — September 5, 1972. A Greek ship sinks in our territorial waters 200
64. — November 28, 1972. No evil will come to the fraternal Greek people from our country 201
65. — June 1, 1973. The Greek monarchy has been overthrown 203
66. — June 27, 1974. Celebration at Bodrishta 204
67. — June 29, 1974. The life of the people of Dropull is becoming happier every day 205
68. — July 20, 1974. Genuine freedom, democracy and independence for the people of Cyprus 210

Page

69. — July 23, 1974. Cyprus and the hegemonic plans of the two superpowers in the Eastern Mediterranean 213
70. — October 3, 1974. A cordial meeting with electors 217
71. — October 3, 1974. Our policy is an open policy, a policy of proletarian principles 218
72. — October 30, 1974. A young commissar of the light 222
73. — September 10, 1975. An 8-year school is opened at Kërra 225
74. — September 13, 1975. Better days for your mountain village 226
75. — November 19, 1975. The rights of the minority recognized in our Constitution are not just formal 230
76. — November 25, 1975. Earthquake in some minority villages 231
77. - November 25, 1975. The whole Albanian people are beside the brothers of the minority 234
78. — November 1, 1976. We Albanians want our policy with the Greek state to be a realistic, friendly and lasting policy 235
79. — April 23, 1977. About some proposals of the Greek government 238
80. — May 23, 1977. Ethnographic science should become a brilliant mirror of our folk culture 240

Page

81. — June 19, 1977. The visit of our ensemble to Greece will help to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples 243

82. — August 6, 1977. The chauvinist views of a Yugoslav ambassador 246

83. — August 16, 1977. A pleasant concert by the Greek artistic ensemble «Marinella» 249

84. — August 21, 1977. A people with a rich and varied folklore 251

85. — October 15, 1977. The remains of the outstanding patriot, Hasan Prishtina, will be brought back to the Homeland 259

86. — March 22, 1978. A very warm meeting with the brothers of Dropull 260

87. — March 22, 1978. Our friendship with the Greek people is connected with the blood shed in the war for freedom and independence against the same enemies 262

88. — March 22, 1978. The rights of the minority people in Albania are fully applied 281

89. — April 1, 1978. The Greek government replies to my speech at Grapsh 289

90. — November 8, 1978. The Albanian people want to be sincere friends with the Greek people forever 291

91. — March 25, 1979. On Karamanlis's trip to Yugoslavia and Rumania 293

92. — April 27, 1979. Thoughts about the Pelasgians, Dorians, Greeks and Illyrians 296
93. — July 12, 1979. Confrontation in the presence of Stalin 300
94. — January 9, 1980. The Arvanitas have lived in fraternal friendship with the Greek people 338
95. — December 30, 1980. A book expressing admiration for Albania 339
96. — May 8, 1981. A book which throws light on the Greek people's resistance during the Second World War 341
97. — May 8, 1981. Aris Velouchiotis — glorious son of the Greek people 342
98. — June 5, 1981. Titoite Yugoslavia, the sick man of the Balkans, is manoeuvring to set the Balkan Peninsula ablaze 344
99. — October 21, 1981. A new government in Greece 353
100. — November 1, 1981. Attempts by anyone to disrupt the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people will fail 354
101. — November 10, 1982. Meeting with the electors of the electoral zone 358
102. — November 10, 1982. Our stand in relations with the neighbouring states is

Page

inspired by the desire to live us good neighbours 359

103. — January 27, 1983. The successes and victories of the Greek minority are a result of the people's being in power 367

104. — July-August 1983. About the brilliant Greek philosophy 373

105. — October 25, 1983. Note 395

106. — November 16, 1983. New developments in the Cyprus problem 396

107. — January 15, 1984. A positive opinion about us exists in Greece 397

108. — February 2, 1984. We must expose those who want to disrupt the friendship between our two peoples 400

109. — February 14, 1984. The efforts of reaction to create hostile groups in our country will never be successful 402

110. — February 14, 1984. A meeting which the Titoites are trying to exploit against our country 405

111. — February 26, 1984. The Pope interferes in our internal affairs 409

112. — February 27, 1984. We must refute the slanders and attacks of enemies 411

113. — March 9, 1984. Incident between Turkey and Greece 416

114. — May 17, 1984. Goodwill is being displayed by Greek officials in regard to relations with us 418

Page

115. — May 17, 1984. We should reply to the invitation of the University of Janina 420

116. — December 4, 1984. A photograph which brings back memories 423

117. — December 6, 1984. Our policy towards Greece has always been a fair and friendly policy 425

118. — December 29, 1984. Friendship and good neighbourly relations between our two peoples will grow steadily stronger 428

119. — December 30, 1984. Panorama 431

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